

HAITIAN IMMIGRANT MULTIFACETED IDENTITY IN FLORIDA

A Dissertation

by

ROLANDE DATHIS DORANCY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Chair of Committee,	Jane Sell
Committee Members,	Joe Feagin
	William Alex McIntosh
	Tommy Curry
Head of Department,	Jane Sell

May 2015

Major Subject: Sociology

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ABSTRACT

Immigration has played a significant role in the structure of American society. Different immigrant groups have different trajectories in the United States: some groups have assimilated quickly into the existing structure while other groups have not. The race and ethnicity of the immigrants are critical aspects of this trajectory. This research focuses on Haitian immigrants and their families. In particular, I ask how identities vary within the same family. I interview thirty-one Haitian immigrant families from three Florida counties: Dade, Broward, and Hillsborough. Family members discuss the everyday challenges they encounter in relation to school, work, encounters with the police, and organizations. There are obvious differences by generation. Those who grew up in Haiti carried Haitian identities that were strong; they emphasized Haitian definitions of race and talked about Haitian values. The children of immigrants, especially those who rarely visited Haiti, had different understandings and tended to identify as black and as American, although they also mentioned their heritage. All those interviewed were sensitive to the negative stereotypes of Haitians, and many belonged to organizations dedicated to developing and maintaining positive group identity and providing help for immigrants as well as those living in Haiti.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the 31 participating Haitian families from Dade, Broward, and Hillsborough counties. Without your participation, I would not have had a dissertation and my dream of completing my Ph.D. would have been on hold.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

“Mete tout konfyans ou nan Senyè-a. Pa gade sou sa ou konnen. Toujou chonje Senyè-a nan tou sa ouap fè. Li menm, la moutre ou chimen pou ou pran.” Proverbs 3:5-6.

“Confie toi en l’Eternel de tout ton cœur, et ne t’appuie pas sur ta sagesse; Reconnais le dans toutes tes voies, et il aplanira tes sentiers.” Proverbes 3:5-6.

“Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not on your understanding; in all your ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct your paths.” Proverbs 3: 5-6.

At this stage, I feel profoundly privileged in expressing my gratitude to Jesus Christ, my Lord for calling on me to take the journey to pursue a Ph.D. and having professors, friends, and families available to aid in its completion.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my committee chair, Dr. Jane Sell, and to committee members Dr. Joe Feagin, Dr. William Alex McIntosh, and Dr. Tommy Curry for guiding me and encouraging me to finish the Ph.D. Dr. Sell, I cannot really find the right words to thank you for your time, tutelage, guidance, and support, as well as helping me to develop an enlightening topic for my research. As I have always said, you are my earthly angel assigned by God for this journey. I am very grateful to Dr. Feagin for introducing me to new approaches to evaluate the concepts of race and identity. Every Wednesday was an occasion for emergence of new knowledge. I also would like to express my gratitude to Dr. McIntosh for Socio 222. This class assisted in my becoming fully integrated into the Ph.D. program. I owe my deepest appreciation to

Dr. Curry for his time and guidance. I extend my gratitude and appreciation to all my professors for sharing their knowledge and experiences. Also, I cannot fail to forget the timely support of Christi Ramirez, Brenda Bernal, Bethany Edwards, and Mary Pendleton.

I would also like to thank my friends and families for being great supporters and encouraging me to finish. I acknowledge the support of Dr. Francois Pierre-Louis, Dr. Mella Davis, Jean Francois Tardieu, Dr. Hervil Cherubin, Dr. Jose Guerrier, Dr. Ernest Benjamin, Dr. Paul Latortue, Dr. Ives Renaud, Michelle Louis-Charles, Dr. Angeline Pierre, Dr. Marc Anthony Louis-Charles, Marylyn Jones, Marlene Etienne, Augustin Leprince, Jean Lemerque Pierre, Lionel Isaac, Dr. Maryse Gardere, Dr. Reine Leroy, Rulx Jean-Bart, Gabriel Augustin, Dr. Marie George Salomon, Tanya and Rick Mowrer, Daniel Huttinot, Joel Duquene, and Evena Telus. I sincerely appreciate the ongoing friendships and support of Gwenetta Curry, Reese Bruce, and Rebecca Shaffer and the members of the socio-psychologist group at Texas A&M. I also acknowledge the prayers of Rev. Frantz Dorvilier, Carole Leblanc, Rev. Renaude St Phard, Lineda Brizard, Leveque Valbrun, Lisette Casimir, Jacques Jeannite, Marie Suze Possible, Astenie Sainvil, Gerard Marie Tardieu, Danies Pierre, Ives and Huguette Pierre, Edline Francin, Milose Jean-Baptiste, Dr. Fernande Allonce, Dr. Pascale Auguste, Rev. Huguette Williams, Pricille Lozama, Rev. Wilbert Joacine, Ermithe Auguste, Rev. Edith Pascal, Jennifer Staub, and Micheline Ducena.

Completion of this project required support and assistance from many people, and I was very fortunate to have gotten this from Marie Maud Morin, Dr. Jean Baptiste

Charlot, Dr. Claude Douze, Anna Louis, Josette Toulme, Cassandra Sajous, Dr. Herve Augustin, Jean Dorisca, Michelle and Charles Pierrot, Rose Rabostic, Dr Marc Anthony Louis Charles, Michael A. Staub, Carlynn Ducena, Dr. Sandra Duvivier, and Malaika Benjamin. In addition, this dissertation would not have happened without the families who made the time available for the interviews. I owe a debt of gratitude to my brother Gary and his wife Michelle Daniel for being there for me from the beginning to the end. And I would also like to show my gratitude to Emmanuela Antoine, who, many years ago, helped me keep nothing in the way of continuing my college studies. Thank you also to Yolene Chatelain and Frantz Louis-Charles for influencing my early college years. I am particularly indebted to Dadoue, my mother, my father, Granma Carole Aronovitz, and Lionel Sajous for teaching me strength. Thanks with great love, Mom, for overcoming social barriers in life for Claude and me.

Last, but not least, I thank God for giving me a family that sticks together regardless of the situation. I want to avail myself of this time to express my love and gratitude to my husband Noriac, who in the midst of a cancer battle still joined hands with me to answer God's calling on the Ph.D. I am thankful and lucky enough to have the understanding and collaboration of my two children, Norlande and Noriac Abe, during my studies, my research, and the completion of the Ph.D. I love you. To God be the glory.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates Haitian immigrants' multifaceted identities and their experiences in Florida. In particular, I examine identities related to race, class, Haitian identity, family roles, and community roles. Identities are important for many reasons. For instance, they often determine how communities are defined, and can be important for developing a base for collective action. Identities also operate on an individual basis and direct day-to-day activities and reactions. While people have some freedom to choose their identities, the social structure constrains and, in some instances, prohibits them. Past research has shown that those who are more powerful are more likely to control their own identities while being able to alter or decide others' identities (Burke 1991; Cast and Burke 2002; Feagin 2010, 2013; Stryker 1994; Stryker and Burke 2000).

While scholars, such as Deaux (2000), examined different identities in different generations, little research has considered identity within the same family across generations. By examining people in the same family, it is possible to see how identities and experiences change over time in the United States. Such a generational investigation can help identify the effects of the U.S. context on immigrants' strategies to adapt and, in some cases, to resist the culture.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FRAMEWORK

Haitian immigrants in the United States are an important group to analyze for many different reasons. For instance, for more than half a century, the more than one million Haitians in the United States have been known for their work ethic and their culture and symbolize a remarkable force in the U.S. global social environment and structural transformation. From a conceptual perspective, many white immigrants are considered part of the in-group, enjoying power and prestige, while black immigrants are viewed as an out-group, taxed as inferiors, and stigmatized based on stereotypes already existing in the United States against African Americans (Chávez 2011; Deaux 2000; Feagin 2000; Philogène 1999). Gordon's (1964) seminal *Assimilation in American Life* helps to explain how the in-group was developed to establish the level of integration of immigrants into the cultural fabric of the United States. He perceived the goal system of assimilation as being divided into three frameworks: Anglo conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism.

The Anglo conformity goal represents the main development of assimilation in United States' history. It was initially designed to apply to white immigrants from Northern European countries during the 18th and 19th centuries. English Americans had to make sure that their values and norms were maintained in the United States, unlike the later ethnic groups from Europe, who were neither Protestants nor English speakers but who conformed to the Anglo-Saxon privilege ideal. Gordon referred to this process as "Americanization." This identity of Americanization was real for the descendants of

white immigrants but did not apply to blacks, who were still slaves and could not be part of Anglo conformity.

While the concept of race is socially built on a historical framework, not all the European groups were automatically accepted as whites. In fact, the Irish, Jews, and Italians were all seen as being subordinate to the Anglo population, but only for a generation (Alba and Nee 2003). With racial inequity an established certainty, those who were former slaves found their attempts to assimilate into the main culture stymied by a white-dominated system which refused their membership. The typical process of Anglo conformity was insufficient for assimilation of Blacks because the majority culture was unwilling to allow such integration.

Critical race theory examines the crossing point of race, law, and power and recognizes that the past legal segregation established a legal frame to prevent equal access to resources and to foresee economic and political ranks in society. Scholars such as Michelle Alexander (2010) argued that African Americans would be far more advanced if the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision had not ended legal segregation because the pursuit for social justice was unavoidable. Like critical race scholars, critical legal scholars believe that the legal arena is host for more social justice. While the court decision provided precedent for legally changing from the old dual system to a new single system, it still did not change the social and economic power inherent in the white racial frame that controls the resources of that educational system. For example, a study by Tatum (2005) revealed that many teachers have little hope for their black students, and schools in primarily white communities generally enjoy a better scholastic

environment, more qualified teachers, and enhanced educational resources, all of which are sorely lacking in many schools where blacks and people of color are the majority.

African American and Mexican American children remain the least prepared for college study. A study conducted by Gordon, Piana, and Kelcher (2000) revealed that 17 million students of color are ill equipped to succeed in advanced courses or gifted school programs simply because of a lack of educational materials and inadequate, often non-existent multicultural training for instructors and administrators. Policies often perpetuate school discrimination and rationalize the neglect of schools in which people of color are a majority, both of which aid in the maintenance of the established hegemony.

Unlike the original assimilation theory, segmented assimilation theory deals with the emergence of racial diversity in immigration. It has been used as the framework for studies whose empirical findings on Mexican Americans show that the third generation does not integrate as well as the second (Zhou 1997). The contrast between the older assimilation theory and segmented assimilation revolves around ethnic identity in regard to immigrants and various ethnic groups. While these two theories differ in their perspectives of integration, the cultural and economic outcomes are the same. The integration of the immigrants is not a one-way process: it involves the immigrants and the host society and its establishments. It is the host society that determines the mechanisms of integration for the newcomers. These pathways of integration define the relations between immigrants' children and their parents in a larger ethnic community. In this regard, Alba and Nee (2003) offered a new version of straight-line assimilation

that looked at the causal mechanisms of past immigrants of 1965 and argued that assimilation happens in racial and economically heterogeneous frameworks. This theory stresses that the new wave of second-generation immigrants will progress toward social integration and upward mobility.

The theories by Alba and Nee (2003) and Portes and Zhou (1993) both speculate that prejudice and discrimination in society are ameliorated when the second generation of immigrants is born in the United States. Using a more complex construct, segmented assimilation theory revises the framing of segregation by suggesting three different pathways of assimilation into American society. The first indicates that children of immigrants succeed in social status by integrating with the white middle class. The second predicts that children of immigrants of color assimilate in the minority low-income neighborhoods and experience a downward mobility. The third, “selective assimilation,” suggests that children of immigrants of color obtain socioeconomic status while preserving their parents’ culture and values (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). However, Feagin (2013) posits that racial integration in the United States represents one-way assimilation into a still systematically racist society with a white racial frame perception, where whiteness and whites are at the top of the hierarchy and are thus given the highest status.

The white racial frame (developed by sociologist Joe Feagin) further defines and explains the tools and strategies employed by white elite males to sustain the dominance of white power and culture over people of color. To more deeply implant this dominance and preserve the interests of white Anglo-Saxon males who were first established in the

“New World” of the United States, the white elite put in place a process of racialization whereby white ethnicity would become and remain the dominant cultural norm. Early in its existence, the white racial frame became the unspoken ideal of the racialized society of the United States. This framing involved a structure that encompassed the basic principles of liberty and justice, equity and equality, but only for those in power: that is, white elite males. This perceived white racial superiority became the essence of justification for the unequal treatment of those who were not part of the white elite culture. This frame, then, defined the most important features of what the United States has perceived to be its national values.

The white frame was initially based on Anglo-Saxons’ exploitation of people of color—of indigenous peoples and Africans. To maintain this frame, the white elite group maintained a Eurocentric solidarity, which gave rise to a racialized immigration system. The discourse of racialization involves a core belief of the intrinsic inferiority, and therefore the necessary subjugation, of people of color (Cobas, Duany, and Feagin 2009). As a result of racialization, white Americans have access to and control of social, political, and economic powers unavailable to minorities. This power inequity aids in the argument that minorities, especially African Americans, are racially inferior and justifies the actions of racial dominance by the white hegemony (Feagin 2010/2013). For black immigrants, especially Haitians raised and educated historically in an atmosphere of black pride, this racial requirement for assimilation into United States culture represents obstacles in the adoption of strategy, change, acceptance, and new identities.

Within this context, Haitian immigrants who entered the United States after having left their homeland because of political conflict and economic hardship find themselves in conflict with American social and cultural values. The constant battle for racial equality in the United States has led many Haitian families to insist that their children maintain Haitian cultural values. They insist that their families tie class and family names as important and integral tools to bargain for the social and cultural identifications that best fit their surroundings.

Waters (1999) explained how black immigrants carry certain characteristics that are passed on to their children. According to Waters, over the course of one generation, the structural realities that are created by racial and economic issues in the United States destabilize Caribbean immigrants and bring responses among them that are similar to African Americans' long histories of exclusion and discrimination. As an example, a study by Foner (1985) found that the patterns of discrimination and exclusions created a rebound for Jamaicans in New York, causing them to prefer to retain their Jamaican identity. For the most part, Haitians come from a country with a social structure constructed mostly around class, with skin color being secondary, if it plays any role at all, to position in the social order (Zephir 1996). In the United States, however, immigrant Haitians find that they are classified based on skin color as well as categorized as "foreign."

HAITI AND HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS

Haiti is the first black republic and the second independent country in the Americas since 1804. It has a population of 9 million people and is 27,750 square kilometers. Since independence, Haitians have fought against slavery and have been continually fighting against prejudice and discrimination. Haiti enthusiastically helped in the movement for the freedom of slaves in the region as well as the independence movements of many Latin American countries. Haitians' self-esteem was built through Haiti's first constitution (1801). For example, Article 12 of the constitution (College.Cengage.com) stipulates the following: "The constitution guarantees freedom and individual security. No one shall be arrested unless a formally expressed mandate, issued from a functionary to whom the law grants the right to order arrest and detention in a publicly designated location." This article was a manifestation of human respect and rights. It called for social freedom and changes. Later, in 1805, the second constitution, in Article 13-14, established black identity for all citizens regardless of skin color.

Article 13 specifies:

The preceding article cannot in the smallest degree affect white women who have been naturalized Haitians by Government, nor does it extend to children already born, or that may be born of the said women. The Germans and Polanders naturalized by government are also comprised (sic) in the dispositions of the present article. (www2.webster.edu)

Furthermore, Article 14 says the following: “All acception (sic) of colour among the children of one and the same family, of whom the chief magistrate is the father, being necessarily to cease, the Haitians shall hence forward be known only by the generic appellation of Blacks.”

These articles of the constitution were created in an effort to bury all the racial tensions that could have developed in the country. Prior to independence, there were four sets of groups living in Haiti: “*les blancs*,” known as white planters; “*les affranchis*” (mulattoes), who were children of white planters and African women educated in France; “*les nouveaux libres*” (freed slaves), who were blacks who became part of the French army; and “*les esclaves*” (black slaves), who were considered the majority of the population (Dubois 2012). This distinction is important because it helps to explain the previous configuration of the colony and how such difference automatically united blacks and children of whites and blacks to create a black republic.

Articles 13 and 14 have played a major role in Haitians’ decisions about migrations. For instance, if Haitian parents can afford to, they often choose to send their children to higher schooling in France, where they feel that the racial pressures are less than in other countries (Zephir 1995). Even though the United States is known as a place where all people would like to live, Haitian immigrants have migrated to locations where they have cultural connections. As Stepick and Portes (1986) noted, language proficiency and location are determinant factors for the settlement of immigrants. However, political turmoil and dictatorship governments have shifted immigrants’

geographical destinations and their means of migration, giving rise to different waves of Haitian immigration in the United States (Laguerre 1984).

The first wave of immigrants to the U.S. occurred from 1957-1971, during the fleeing of and exile by the Duvalier regime (Laguerre 1984). However, these initial transplants were identified as people of wealth. They were entrepreneurs and intellectuals who were against François “Papa Doc” Duvalier’s regime. As Haitian immigrants, they were very proud to assimilate into the middle class. These Haitians relished being called speakers of French, a language that brings images of upper class and elegance, and being nicknamed “Frenchies” (Woldemikael 1989; Zephir 1995). They made sure that their children retained their cultural identity by speaking French and/or Creole at home; dressing in Haitian clothing; eating cultural food; taking part in cultural celebrations, such as Independence Day, Flag Day, and others; attending French- or Creole-speaking churches; and having open discussions about the history of their ancestors. As a result, cultural trends were kept alive among different generations of Haitian immigrants.

Unlike the first wave, the second wave of Haitians, which arrived in the 1980s, consisted of poor farmers—Creole speakers risking their lives in small boats in order to flee Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier’s regime. This group of farmers refused to join the Haitian civil armed forces known as “Tonton Macoutes” (Laguerre 1984). Their struggles and fighting were broadcast worldwide. The U.S. media presented them as dispossessed, impoverished “boat people” while simultaneously showing a barrage of images of Haiti as the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, a

group of educated Haitians also entered the United States legally and joined their families already established here. After years of migration and transfer from Haiti, and after numerous social classes had engaged in the process, it is believed that this second wave of immigration transformed Haitian identity from being one of pride to an abyss of shame (Stepick and Portes 1986).

Consequently, immigrants in the second wave distanced themselves from Haitian identity because of negative media representations of both Haiti and Haitian refugees in the United States (Lundy 2011), but they still formed alliances and participated in political, economic, and social transnational networks to assist their compatriots back “home” during the earthquake on January 12, 2010. The earthquake represented a transformation of cultural identity that motivated the second generation of Haitian immigrants to organize and act on behalf of their fellow compatriots.

In contrast to the first wave and the second wave of Haitian immigrants, the third wave arrived in the 1990s as asylum seekers in Florida. This wave was a composite of peasants and lower-middle-class people, mostly young adult men, escaping the brutal military leaders who ousted Jean Bertrand Aristide, the first democratically elected president after the overthrow of the Duvalier regime in 1986 (Pierre-Louis 2006). The arrival of this wave to the United States demonstrated the double jeopardy (race and class) discriminative immigration policy against people of color. It is noteworthy that the Haitian refugees, for the most part impoverished black people, became a disadvantaged group in the United States legal system, which had created advantages for the white Cuban refugees arriving at the same time as the Haitian refugees. The Cubans were fully

supported by the law, as they were classified as political refugees, while the Haitians were viewed as economic refugees. In addition, “Cuban migrants received special immigration benefits, including refugee resettlement assistance, under congressional legislation enacted specifically for their benefit” (Johnson 2001). This obvious discriminatory policy created a unity among Haitians developed by the common identity among the generations of Haitians in the United States: including the Haitian intellectual elites who settled in the northeastern area of the United States and had initially distanced themselves from the Haitian refugees in the 1980s, but who still felt a sense of responsibility toward Haiti, the mother country. Both the elites and the masses cherished the idea of returning home, and both felt compelled to further the cause of democracy, so many rallied around the refugee issues, which automatically sparked a fight for the return of democracy in Haiti.

While the first, second, and third waves of Haitian immigrants entered under different circumstances, all illustrate the negotiation of identity. The investigation of the various identities of Haitian immigrants is important, as it tells us what kinds of identities enable community, survival, and collective action. As Deaux (2008) and Duany (1998) argued, immigration is a social issue of worldwide significance that needs to be understood historically, demographically, and culturally for public policy. While the status and identity of “immigrant,” which implies “foreigner” in the United States, is important, Haitians also contend with racial status and the identity of being “black,” an identity that is interpreted very differently in the United States than in Haiti.

RESEARCH AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In this study, I examined the processes involved in particular identities developing within the family. The research question that guided this study was the following: how does the generation of an individual affect the way that family and social identities are interpreted and acted upon? The following interview questions were utilized to help answer the research questions:

1. What does having a multifaceted identity mean for a Haitian immigrant in Florida? (For example, when you think about identities or categories that describe you, what are the ones that first come to mind?)
2. What are some Haitian values that have changed as a result of being an immigrant to the United States? (For example, how do you think of Haiti? Do you think of Haiti as your country? When you think of values or beliefs that are important? What are some of those values for you? Do you think of those values as American, Haitian, or your personal values?)
3. What are the impacts of the difference between Haiti's and the United States' sense of racial inequality? (For example, in the United States, do you believe race is seen differently than in Haiti? How so? If so, how does this affect you personally? How does this affect your day-to-day life?)
4. What are the community impacts observed as a result of changes to Haitian families and values? (For example, how do you maintain a sense of being

Haitian? Do you go to special events? Are you a member of Haitian groups, etc.?)

5. How do generational conflicts manifest themselves in light of seeking self-identity? (For example, do you think your children feel the same way as you do about being Haitian? Or for children, do you think your parents feel the same way as you do about being Haitian? Explain.)
6. How do you think others see you?
7. In particular, what have your experiences with the following been:
 - a. Schools?
 - b. Police?
 - c. Medical Doctors or Practitioners?

ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter II presents the theoretical framework that articulates the assumptions of this study. Chapter III describes the methodological framework of the study, including the study design, settings and participants, and coding process. Chapter IV presents information on the cross-generational multifaceted identities of Haitian immigrants in Florida. More specifically, the chapter focuses on how self-identities are influenced by language, perceptions of self, and community relations. Chapter V examines how Haitians articulate their values and how they think these values are affected by being an immigrant in the United States, as well as their experiences with schools, police, and medical practitioners. Chapter VI examines cross-generational immigrants and the racial

dilemma of the United States. Chapter VII summarizes the dissertation and presents recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are different theories that examine the role of identity. Below, I detail several different approaches to identity, all of which share the basic idea that social connections, social structure, and interaction help define the self.

Stryker (1994) stressed that identities are defined by and through the social structure that individuals encounter. As such, individuals adopt values and attitudes according to their positions in different social frameworks. Thus, identity represents a set of meanings connected to the self in a social function. These sets of meanings become a reference for an individual (See Burke and Stets 1999; Stryker and Burke 2000).

Identities can refer to group identity, personal identity, or role identity.

IDENTITY CONTROL THEORY

Identity control theory (Burke 1991, 2004; Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002) presents an account of people's identities and the link between their identities and their behavior. According to the theory, people are continuously adjusting their individual identities in reaction to the feedback they receive from others. When individuals are proceeding in harmony, according to identity control theory, they mirror the identity they perform and the feedback they receive in terms of reflected appraisals is similar (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; Stets and Burke 2002). Stress results from a difference between the identity and the feedback. When this occurs, individuals act to

resolve the discrepancy. Importantly, identity control theory specifies that people seek confirmation of both positive and negative identities.

AFFECT CONTROL THEORY

Affect control theory (Smith-Lovin and Heise 1988; Heise 2002) also uses the basic assumption of confirmation of identities to explain how individuals interpret and act upon affective meanings and how they are preserved within their interactions. Using the Osgood & Associates' (1975) measures, affect control theory uses evaluations on three different dimensions: good-bad, potency (powerful-powerless), and activity (lively-subdued). These affective meanings are connected to identities and actions. The initial values attributed to identities or events are labeled fundamental sentiments and the changes caused through events are labeled transient impressions. Because people seek confirmation, they attempt to interpret people and events in ways that minimize the difference between fundamental sentiments and transient impressions. In so doing, they attribute cause, identities, and affect to themselves and others.

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory, by Tajfel and Turner (1979), develops a perspective on social identity to better explain how group memberships affected individuals' perceptions. It focuses on the salience of certain levels of self-categorization associated with group category membership and assumes a self-enhancement motive. Hogg and Abrams (1988) contended that a social identity represents an individual's knowledge of

his or her group. Individuals describe a social group as a set of people with the same social identification and visualize themselves as members of the social group. The connection to a social class, family, ethnicity, etc., represents their pride and self-esteem (Tajfel 1978). Groups offer a sense of social identity. To preserve positive self-image, individuals elevate the status of the group with which they identify.

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY THEORY

Collective identity theory (Melucci 1989) also refers to the shared sense of being a member of a group. The fundamental assumption is that collective identity centers more on its results for mobilizing collective action. According to Prentice, Miller, and Lightdale (1994), there is a difference between group identities that attach to individual members through common bonds and those that attach directly to the group tied on common identities. Thus, the direct attachment to the group is essential to construct a collective identity. When psychologists interested in social identity and self-categorization about “collective self” discuss this concept, the impact and processes are similar to “social identity” (Brewer and Gardner 1996). The psychologists are more interested in the consequences of self-definition and interpersonal judgment. On the other hand, sociologists refer to collective action by looking at the consequences for mobilizing joint action. This idea is similar to the idea of empathic solidarity (Heise 1998). Empathic solidarity is the reciprocal sense of fused consciousness and coalition, with trust in others’ commitment to envision the same purpose (Heise 1998).

RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Racial and ethnic identity is especially salient in all identity theories. However, there are also literatures solely devoted to racial and ethnicity identity. Omi and Winant (1994) presented a racial formation theory, which examined how race is socially constructed based on political, social and resource structures. Racial categories can be used to sustain and justify power differences whereby the more powerful at one point in time retain and justify their power over time. The concept of race originally surfaced in the framework of European control and “scientific” theories of biological difference served to solidify and rationalize differences based on physical distinctions.

Ethnic identity refers to a collective identity that leads to a person’s perception of being part of a certain heritage attached to a certain group (Helms 1993). But it is the case that racial construction in the United States facilitates the development of ethnic identity with the purpose of maintaining white superiority (in-group) and black inferiority (out-group). Racial identity preserves a white racial frame to pursue discrimination against the out-group or people of color (Feagin 2000, 2013). Within this context, some researchers, such as Frable (1997), maintained that racial and ethnic identity terms used by psychologists ignore the function of identity. He argued that the empirical work done on those studies has not captured the structure and the substance of people’s identities. In this sense, racial and ethnic identity is defined as a collective identity leading to a person’s perception of being part of a certain heritage attached to a particular group.

Nagel (1995) referred to the procedure by which subgroups link together in order to construct a bigger common identity. This procedure facilitates an ethnic renewal, and she explained that the newly ethnic identities are “built or rebuilt out of historical social and symbolic systems” (10). For instance, Haitian immigrants’ common history of prejudice and discrimination encountered in the U.S. has encouraged them to turn to their identity in their homeland as a coping mechanism. They recall the history of the revolution through radio programs, art, music, and their African- and French- influenced cuisine—which all bring awareness to issues regarding Haiti and Haitian refugees and Haitian immigrants, no matter where they reside within the U.S. Haitian churches have served as social service organizations, providing a social network to their fellow immigrants within their communities. Schiller, Glick, and Fouron (1999) looked at the Haitian transnational social fields to describe how family duties and the experiences of immigration are identified with a language of blood and descent that connects individuals to broader perceptions of a transnational homeland.

Differentiating between self- determined and imposed identities is vital for understanding coalitions and resistance. Many countries are building block solidarities (such as Association of Caribbean States, Bolivarian Alliance for the people of our America) in order to escape from the imposed dicta established through colonization since the 1600s. The complications draw from historical constraints of white hegemony supported by a legal frame, which represents constraints that people have over their identities. In *Racist America* (2010), Feagin explains the role that systematic racism has played in determining the identities of people of color. White Europeans created a white

racial frame that enabled whites, and predominantly males, to be the controllers of the economic system, creating critical impediments for people of color. Harris (1993) explained how whiteness was constructed by law from the foundational beginning of the United States to ensure that whites maintained the wealth obtained from the conquest of the Native American territories and the acquisition and exploitation of Africans as slaves. To keep control over that wealth, the racial frame was a necessary tool of subjugation used by the white elite males as a means of maintaining social control and economic power.

According to Feagin (2000, 2010, 2014), from the period of the colonies until today, white-imposed racism has been everywhere in North American life; and this framing contains racial stereotypes (a belief aspects), metaphors and concepts (a deeper cognitive aspect), images (the visual aspect), and emotions (feelings) in the minds of white Americans. Yancy (2012:116) stated that “the message is clear: to be white in America is to possess a form of property—white skin privilege—that bolsters one’s sense of self and one’s sense of ontological expansiveness, which involves a feeling of entitlement such that the [white] self assumes that it can and should have total mastery over its environment.” Whiteness became a meta-narrative where nonwhites are considered possessions to be put in the service of white people (Yancy 2012). In order to assert this power, a racial caste system was established through the codification of the Jim Crow system. According to Collins (2008), such dominion has occurred through government, housing, workplace, and other social institutions. This is unquestionably white-male-imposed racial inferiority through unequal treatment for those who are not

part of the white frame. As Zuberi and Silva argued, “Conversely, White logic fosters the obverse feeling on Whites (elite or not): a sense of superiority, a sense [of] ... the ‘White man’s burden[,]’ [the need] to educate and ‘civilize’ non-Whites, which has served historically as the moral and intellectual foundation for colonialism and internal colonialism” (18).

Feagin (2010) reported that the Irish immigrants who arrived in the United States in the 1800s did not see themselves as “white” but identified with their homeland. They were forced by English Americans to accept their identities. Since all established institutions were already in place for their integration, it was better for them to integrate into the dominant racial frame that privileged whiteness and denigrated blackness. According to Feagin, systemic racism plays along a continuum: namely, the patterns of impoverishments and unjust enrichment and their transmission over time; the resulting vested group interests and the alienating racist relations; the cost and burdens of racism; the important role of white elites; the rationalization of racial oppression in a white racist framing; and continuing resistance to racism (2010:10). All of these show that racial and ethnic identities cannot be freely chosen.

The idea that identities are both imposed and chosen is a theme in identity theories as well. Deaux (2000) considered the issues of social comparison processes of in-group behavior and out-group behavior. These processes are explained as a basic component in the structure of social identity theory that Tajfel (1981) conveyed. After examining the two different processes of the groups, white immigrants and immigrants of color, she concluded that the differences between the in-group and the out-group were

obvious. Within the United States context, the in-group immigrants represent the dominant group, whites, whereas the out-group refers to immigrants of color. In-group immigrants are generally well accepted because of the importance that members give to the group membership, while the out-group immigrants are “outsiders.”

For example, the history of black-and-white race relations in the U.S. is a typical illustration of in-group and out-group differences. Deaux and Martin (2003) proposed a new theoretical model that would require the social category and the interpersonal group to act independently within the settings of identity framework. This new model shows the various levels of context that influence the personal definitions of “self,” “self-evaluation,” and “interactions with others.” Along these lines, Crowder (2000) explained that West Indians in New York and the New Jersey Metropolitan areas were segregated along the lines of class and race, surrounded mostly by poor African American communities. To cope with the situation, they created residential enclaves through the maintenance and building of ethnic-based group identity. Caribbean immigrant organizations served as conduits for resources and group mobilization.

Group members are aware of both negative and positive information about their group. These individuals may take the same attitude toward their own group by internalizing the negative stereotypes assigned to them by the majority group. An example is the first generation of Haitian immigrants who had negative images of the Haitian refugees coming in the 1980s. On the other hand, in times of danger or threat, they may feel as if they are part of the stereotyped group. This was demonstrated with the refugees arriving in the 1990s. The threat was to Haitians overall, and this group of

refugees brought awareness of Haiti's democracy being in danger. Recognition of this problem created a strong Haitian identity among Haitians of different generations. This was demonstrated through the mobilization of Haitian organizations.

Although the comparison processes show the important role of the social in the immigrant's social identity, the framework of those identities are always in negotiation with multiple identities. According to Deaux (2000), the immigrant identity is not static—immigration evolves and includes the study of moving from one area to another—where the identity has to be reconstructed or redefined. As an example, Haitian immigrants have developed an identity that is multifaceted. These identities are interrelated within three generations of Haitian immigrants in the U.S. First, there is a “Frenchies” identity, which plays a symbolic role in differentiating Haitian boat people from Haitian elites in the northeastern area of the U.S. This identity provides a defense against living in a society where blacks are lowly regarded. The second generation was identified by others as “boat people.” The boat people identity continues to evoke prejudice and discrimination through stereotypes, which include “poor” and “threatening.” The third generation was viewed by others as “refugees.” This identity promotes shared aims within the Haitian generations as well as within different cultures. It presents images of resistance, a historical base, fragments of reminiscence, and a sense of patriotism toward Haiti, the homeland. It calls for awareness among Haitians as well as solidarity. All three waves developed different defense mechanisms to cope with these negatives stereotypes.

While a number of studies investigated the identity of immigrants, the constant change of identity related to varying situations has not been extensively examined. In particular, while research, such as Deaux's, examined different identities in different generations, little research considers identity within the same family across generations. The available research overlooks the perspective of parents and children. Thus, this proposed study will examine the multifaceted identities of Haitian families and children residing in Florida.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

BACKGROUND

This study took place in three Florida counties: Dade, Broward, and Hillsborough. Although Haitian immigrants are present in many more counties in Florida, these three counties offer unique stories of geographical movement of Haitian families from different states to the Florida area. Additionally, there are significant numbers of Haitians and Haitian Americans in the surrounding cities. For instance, in Dade county, there is an elementary school named “Toussaint Louverture,” named after the main leader of the Haitian Revolution, and all three counties have very active Haitian professional organizations and Haitians and/or Haitian Americans who own businesses (Brown 2007).

Florida is one of the three main entrance ports for Haitians into the United States. The two other points of entry for Haitians are in New York and Massachusetts. The majority of Haitians relocate from these three entry points to other parts of the United States. Though those who were interviewed reside in Dade, Broward, and Hillsborough counties, some of them were transplanted from other areas. These counties were selected because of a visible presence of generations of Haitian Americans. The influence of the community leaders on the generations of Haitian Americans to maintain multifaceted identities have always fascinated the author. From personal experience as a Haitian immigrant and former executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, I

believed that cultural and ethnic identities were important determinants for dynamic growth of the community.

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

A critical aspect of the study is the interviewing of different generations within the same family. I defined the range of participants to be between 12 and 90. The age of 12 was chosen for developmental purposes: since many of the questions concerned events at school, and when children were unaccompanied by adults, it was thought that younger children might not have the necessary experiences.

Consent forms for adults and assent forms for children were developed to inform participants of the study. (See Appendix A for these forms). An interview guide, a short questionnaire, and recruitment flyers were also developed and accompanied the IRB application. (See Appendix B for these.)

Before beginning the study, I conducted a pretest to ensure that the procedures went as planned. The questions were easily understandable, and the equipment worked well. This was conducted in Katy, a city in Fort Bend County, Texas. The researcher met with a family of two generations. The two parents were categorized as “first generation” and the two children, who were born and raised in the United States, were categorized as “second generation.” We met in a quiet family room in the researcher’s home and sat around a round table for the interview. An audio recorder was placed on the table. The parents and children were interviewed together. The interview lasted a little over 30 minutes. The participants were asked to choose between the languages of Creole and

English. All five participants agreed to do the interview in English because the children would not understand Creole. The parents both signed consent forms for themselves and agreed for their children to sign the assent forms as well. The interview began immediately following the signing of the forms and all participants agreed that the audio recording was permissible. Following the interview, the participants were asked to fill out a short questionnaire. The interview was composed of open-ended questions, reflecting a research strategy that would facilitate open and truthful responses among all participants. On the basis of the pretest, several changes were made with the technical aspects related to the recording of the interview.

The data collected for this study are quantitative and qualitative information on generational Haitian families in different cities in Miami-Dade, Broward, and Hillsborough counties. To recruit for the interviews, my existing networks were used: contacts were made with several leaders of organizations; and I received permission from these contacts to distribute hundreds of flyers at community organizations and religious and services institutions with which they were familiar. These leaflets were personally handed to the contact persons in Dade and Broward counties. In Hillsborough County, the flyers were mailed to the contact person. The contact people were also asked to inform those who responded to the flyers about the possibility of inviting their friends to participate in the research. The flyers explained the objective of the research, including the researcher's telephone number. Following the distributions, potential participants called the researcher and provided their names and contact information. Once the call was received, a brief exchange about the research occurred with me. I

explained the objectives and the eligibility criteria for participation. Then, an interview was scheduled at the participant's desired place.

All the participants contacted the researcher voluntarily. Many more than expected called indicating interest in the study. Unfortunately, not all could participate because of the criteria requirements of being a family with at least two generations present from age 12 to 90. In one case, a brother of the family interviewed was present and wanted to participate in the interview.¹

I made several follow-up phone calls before the interview, as respondents were spread over a broad geographic zone and I wanted to make sure that they were available for the meeting. Some respondents were unable to meet their schedules, but were, for the most part, able to reschedule.

Over the course of 2 months, 31 families with a total of 127 individual members, both male and female, were recruited. To achieve this, 11 families were recruited in Miami-Dade County, 10 in Broward County, and 10 in Hillsborough County. The family is composed of one or two parents with at least one child who forms two generations. However, 17 members of the 127 members among the 31 families could not participate due to work and age requirements for participation. In the context of this study, the generations were defined by birthplace, age, education, and legal conditions of the parents' entrance into the United States. Many literature sources have defined the issues of generations upon the age of arrival in the United States or the first person in the

¹ When asked to sign the consent form, he refused, even though the researcher told him that he did not have to answer any question that he felt uncomfortable answering. He would not sign and authorize the audio recording. Nevertheless, he still spoke while talking to other people.

family who immigrates to America (see Portes and Zhou 1993; Zephir 1996; Ellis and Goodwin-White, 2006). In fact, it has been suggested that there be one category for the first generation and another for the second generation if the child had to immigrate to the United States with a parent when the child was no older than 12. It seems logical when discussing immigrant identities to acknowledge that someone who is first in a family to immigrate has faced many obstacles to make way for the other members in the family. It is likewise reasonable to conclude that the immigration process and social conditions that bring an individual to another country affect that family and the social identities of the individuals.

This study examines how different generations in the same family think about their experiences as Haitians and how they feel about different experiences. For this, I consider the immigrant birthplace and legal immigration process to classify the first-generation immigrants into three categories. The first category, labeled “A,” is defined as a person born in Haiti but immigrated to the United States as an adult. The second category, labeled “B,” is defined as a person who immigrated to the United States as an adult and sent for the parent or child. The last category, labeled “C,” is defined as a spouse who immigrated to the United States and sent for the other spouse. This organization into three groups for the first generation allows the ability to highlight the plural relationships that exist between the people from the three categories and Haiti, given that many interview questions consisted of requesting information about participants’ connection with Haiti.

As for the second generation, the age of migration to the U.S., educational status, and birthplace allowed for a division into three more categories, with the same letter designations. The first category, labeled “A,” is defined as a child who was born in Haiti but brought to the United States by a parent at 17 years old or younger and completed some education in Haiti. The second category, labeled “B,” is defined as a child born and educated in the United States with at least one Haitian parent present in the United States. The final category of second-generation immigrants, labeled “C,” is defined as a child born in Haiti of a Haitian parent/Haitian parents who completed education in Haiti and did not immigrate to join parents in the United States until 18 years or older. In order to examine the bicultural dilemma of the second generation, this division into three categories was necessary. The children born in the United States are torn between the parents’ culture at home and their American culture at school, while those who started school in Haiti may develop different attitudes, identities, and experiences depending on the first generation’s experiences in the country. However, the ones who have completed their schooling in Haiti have been socialized in Haiti and, consequently, have different experiences once in the U.S. For the third generation, the child is born in the United States to a second generation that completed all education in the United States. And, finally, the fourth generation is a child of a third-generation parent of Haitian descent born in the U.S.

SETTINGS AND PARTICIPANTS

For the most part, the interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes in a friendly environment. Participants either sat around a table at the dining room, in the living room, or outside on the patio. The audio recorder and laptop were always on the table. In certain homes, there were difficulties with the recording and noise: for example, a child who was 3 was given a computer game to occupy herself but made a bit of noise during one of the interviews. For the rest of the interviews, everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that all conversation was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. In certain homes, the interior décor consisted of many different colors and patterns that depicted the cheerful atmosphere of the Caribbean. In their homes, the interviewer was always invited to drink or eat something. At one time, a family even invited the interviewer for dinner. In that place, the interview was conducted around the table.

In addition to conducting home interviews, an interview in a restaurant became necessary because the mother of the family did not feel comfortable having the interviewer at her home because she had just lost her husband. For her, the interview at home would have brought her sadness. Thus, inviting her to a restaurant with the children would make them more at ease. While it was well suited for a family meal, distractions sometimes intervened during the interview. In addition to the restaurant, families were interviewed at two Haitian churches, one Catholic and one Protestant, where the interviewer attended services while waiting for all the members to leave

before the interview could be started. Two family interviews were conducted at a Catholic church.

Three forms were prepared to present to the participants prior to the interviews. The first was a consent form for the parent, the second was a parental form that the parent needed to sign authorizing the child to participate, and the third was an assent form asking the minor his/her accord in writing prior to participation. The participants were also informed that the recording would be transcribed as soon as possible and the transcriptions would not contain the real names of any participants. Upon signing this form, in which the participant had to also agree to the audio recording, the interview had started. The interviews lasted from 20 minutes to 1 hour and 45 minutes.

The interviews were conducted based on a guide. The guide includes a question about the languages that family members use to communicate with each other. This question was helpful in determining the language for the interview. Participants in the first generation often felt more comfortable in speaking Creole, but at times also spoke French or English. The other three generations were more at ease in English. Gathering these data in the three different languages was not an inconvenience because I am fluent in all three languages. The setting of family interviews opened conversations with children and parents that they might have never discussed. In some cases, it allowed the children a forum to express their feelings about things they had retained for years. They had also shared experiences with discrimination that they were afraid of telling their parents because, according to some of them, Haitian culture always blames the child for bad things that may happen to them. Of course, if this is the perception of the children,

some of them may have been less than candid (Woldemikael 1989). The interview contained questions about each family member's identities, the language(s) they spoke, their customs, and their experiences in school, work, and with the police and health professionals.

At the end of each family interview, a questionnaire was given to each participant to fill out asking him or her to rate words on evaluation, potency, and activity. To conclude, participants were thanked and offered a certificate of appreciation signed by the head of the Sociology Department that was sent to them in a later time.

CODING

This dissertation uses ATLAS.ti 7.5.2 to facilitate the coding process. ATLAS.ti helps create theoretical relationships that are new to the data.

Table 1 shows a breakdown of the number of generations and their descendants recruited for the interviews.

Table 1: Generational Data

Classification	1	2A	2B	2C	3	4	TOTALS
Father	13	4	2	10	0	0	29
Mother	11	3	0	11	0	0	25
Child	0	10	12	1	32		55
Daughter-in-law	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
Son-in-law	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Grandmother	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
Grandfather	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Grandchild	0				5	1	6
Sister-in-law	1	0	0	0	0		1
Totals	29	18	14	26	38	2	126

CHAPTER IV

CROSS-GENERATIONAL MULTIFACETED IDENTITIES OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS

OVERVIEW

This chapter examines the identities across generations of Haitian immigrants within the same family. Particularly, I look at Haitian immigrant families living in the Dade, Broward and Hillsborough counties in Florida. In the context of this study, the family consists of a group of people that are interrelated by birth, marriage, or legal binding. This description goes beyond the traditional nuclear family of husband, wife, and children. It is based on a range of ages that also includes single parents, second marriages and children from previous marriages, grandparents raising children, and children caring for live-in parents. One component of family structure is language, which is a valuable element of culture passed down through the generations as heritage that can enable some connection with others and the ancestral country. The lack of understanding and speaking the Haitian languages, Creole and French, can be viewed as a lessening of identity as a Haitian. On the other hand, the small group of the same generations who have maintained and stay familiar with their ethnic language(s) often refer to their cultural values and history as way to fight racist behavior (Frable 1997; Zephir 2004)

Within the generations, conflicts manifested themselves among the families in light of seeking self-identity. Many factors linked to negative consequences either with

teachers or other students in school, the police, and many more surfaced in the day-to-day life of Haitian immigrants. Ongoing misrepresentations of Haiti and Haitian immigrants by media outlets have distanced members of second generation A and B, and third and fourth generations from their ethnic identity, at least until they are older. That seems to have occurred because some families were unsuccessful in sharing family history or failed to pass on cultural and social values. There is a process of alienating people of color in the United States from which Haitians or children born of Haitian immigrants are not exempt. Both cultural heritage and negative views of blacks (in the US) combine, and this can lead to stress and confusion. There is pressure for a child born of a Haitian immigrant family to adopt the values and behaviors of the U.S. and at the same time pressure to retain the family values and behavior from Haiti. These alternating pressures are consistent with Deaux's (2000) thoughts on the everyday challenges that immigrants have to face. These different circumstances necessitate distinct identities.

COMPLICATED NATURE OF IDENTITY

Deaux and Martin (2003) argued that social category and interpersonal relationships distinctively need to take into consideration the definition of self, self-evaluation, and relations with others in the identity processes. As participants revealed, a Haitian immigrant's self-identity is influenced by many factors: such as language, perception of self, community relations, place of birth, and others.

Language is a visible mark of culture that signals being part of a social group. When people share a language, it creates harmony in the community environment and at

the same time reflects on areas of divergence. It also plays a major role in connecting generations of immigrants to community organizations. It helps in describing self-perception and providing a better understanding of self to others. It brings a unique form of self in which the person expresses his/her sense of uniqueness.

The role of language for the 31 families interviewed is illustrated in Table 2. These data reveal that Creole is a common language spoken among the families where at least one member is a first generation or second generation C, with the exception of a small group who also speak French. These immigrants came to the U.S. as adults and 3 of them had immigrated to Canada prior to the U.S. (The close ties between them, the U.S., and Haiti will be reflected in the second part of the chapter). The use of the Creole and French languages within the families can help maintain the person's sense of reliability or authenticity as a Haitian person, which, in turn, can influence the other generations to embrace certain Haitian cultural values. The second generation B and third generation interviewees who speak English preferred to speak Creole if they had to choose between the two. Substantially, most of the second generation C are proficient in English, but they still stay attached to either one of the languages of Haiti.

Table 2: Language by Generation for Three Counties

County	Generation(s)	Creole	English	English Creole	English French	English Creole French
Dade	1 st	2		11		
	2 nd A			3	2	1
	2 nd B		1	8	1	
	2 nd C			3		2
	3 rd		3	2		1
	4 th					
Broward	1 st	6		1	1	1
	2 nd A		1	4		2
	2 nd B		2			
	2 nd C		1	1	2	2
	3 rd		2	3		2
	4 th					
Hillsborough	1 st	3				3
	2 nd A		3	3		
	2 nd B			1		
	2 nd C		2	6	2	1
	3 rd		12	2		
	4 th				1	
		11	27	48	9	15

About 17 people of the third generation, 3 people of the second generation B, 4 of the third generation, and one of the fourth generation say they prefer to speak English only. The large spoken language differences are the effect of different cultures. For instance, F9B² consists of three people from three different generations. Rolex, a 61-

² F9B. The father, Rolex, a second generation A, is a college professor. The mother, a second generation B, is an administrator. The son, Rod, a third generation, is a college professor.

*For confidentiality, all participants' names in the interview were changed.

year-old man, is the father and Nay, a 66 year old, is the mother. Their son Rod is 33 and they were asked the question:

Rolande: *What language or languages do family members use to talk to each other?*

Nay: It depends. If it's my husband and I, we talk Creole. But if it's with my son, it's just English.

Rolex: In my case, it's Creole. I speak Creole with him; but because of his mother, it's primarily English.

Nay: I feel like I should explain that. Because I know for me when I was—well, I was born in the United States. My parents sent me to Haiti for 5 years. At that time, I spoke French and Creole. When I came to this country, I was so confused. I wanted to learn the language, I wanted to fit in and of course this was where I was born, in New York. So, I spoke English. But as an adult, I did not speak much Creole until I started working at the Haitian Refugee Center. I wasn't very comfortable speaking Creole or French, and I didn't want him to go through that. So it was easier for me to speak to him in English, but the other family members would speak to him in Creole. But it never worked out that way, so English became the primary language. It was a matter of comfort.

Rolande: *When did you come to the US?*

Rolex: I left Haiti at the age of 14.

Rolex's family speaks more English than Creole. Nay claimed that she speaks English to her son because she does not want him to have the same (negative) experiences she had when she returned to the United States from Haiti. Rolex's bond to the Creole language is stronger than Nay's and played an important part in showing how identity relates to social group. Nay explained that the reason for her choosing to speak only English was to avoid confusion and to fit in with mainstream society. Both Nay and Rolex lived in Haiti during their adolescent years. Although Nay went to school in Haiti and learned the Haitian languages, she was in Haiti for her parents. She saw herself as a child born of Haitian parents, but not as a Haitian citizen: rather, as a citizen of the United States. The difference between the two is obvious. Rolex was born in Haiti and

remained culturally Haitian, even though he is a United States citizen and, as such, associated with American culture. Although Rolex and Nay are both of Haitian descent, it is only Rolex who felt the necessity of transcending the dominant culture and passing on the Creole language to their only son. Nay implied that not speaking English at an early age kept her from fitting in, and she would not let her son repeat the same mistake. Nevertheless, speaking is still an issue. In fact, Rod speaks neither Creole nor French, as his father and other members of the family have opted to speak. But Nay has readapted into speaking Creole when she has to work for the Haitian Refugee Center.

This is similar to F1B,³ a family of 6 people from 5 different generations. Pro is a 64-year-old man who is the father of John, 32 years old, and Line, 24 years old. He is also the father-in-law of Freda, 29 years old, and Gruel, 26 years old. Furthermore, Yola, who is 61-years-old, is the mother of John and Line and the mother-in-law of Freda and Gruel.

Rolande: *What language or languages do family members use to talk to each other?*

Pro: I speak Creole with all of them. But they grew up in the U.S., so English is a better language for them. Not for me.

Rolande: *Do you speak English more than Creole?*

Line: Depends on the occasion or the conversation.

³ F1B. The father, a first generation who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is retired from work and volunteers in a church. The mother, also a first generation, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a nursing assistant. The son, a second generation A, is an engineer. The daughter-in-law, a second generation C, is a pharmacy technician. The daughter-in-law, a third generation, is a physical therapist. The daughter, a second generation A, is an administrator.

Pro's family language option is not different from Rolex's family. The timetable to speak either Creole or English by Line (F1B) is similar to the choice made by Nay (F9B). This explains that language choices are always entrenched in the social context and work in conjunction with the dominant culture. As the Creole language perpetuates a symbolic identity, it has also brought confusion among the generations. One example of how the Creole language has impacted different generations of Haitian immigrants comes from Abe,⁴ a 31-year-old in F4B. He explains how the Creole language divided the Haitian young person and the children born of Haitian parents in the U.S.

I find especially in the church, and other Haitian communities, there is a sort of division between the Haitians. The Haitian young person from Haiti and the Haitian American born in the U.S., it is a huge problem in the Haitian churches. What happened, as you said, a lot of Haitians born in Haiti, like myself, again ... English is my second language. I had to learn English. ... They come here with certain values; of course, their value system is more akin to the value system in Haiti. And then they meet the Haitian that is born here. Sometimes the adults would make a reference to: "These Haitians ... Haitians born here in the U.S. don't have any Haitian values versus the ones that emigrated from Haiti." I notice in a lot of churches that causes friction between the two factions because one is thinking, "well you think you're better than I am" or "I am more Haitian than you are because I was born there." I guess for myself because I came here so young, I am able to kind of balance back between the two sides. But, you know, we have young Haitians here who do not speak any Creole—like my wife, for instance. Her Creole is not good—it is a work in progress. She feels intimidated by a younger Haitian person who is fluent or almost "I am not Haitian enough." I don't know if that makes sense but it's something to know.⁴

⁴ F4B. The father, a first generation, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a Baptist Pastor and medical assistant at a chiropractor's office. The mother, a first generation who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s to join her husband, is a nursing assistant. The son, a second generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a lawyer.

Abe's informative remarks about the three groups of generations of Haitians are related to the conflicting nature of passing on an identity. The first generations are people who have immigrated to the United States at a later age. These people are the holders of the cultural values in which language is relevant for transferring those values. As Abe pointed out, these church members are preoccupied with the fact that the generations born in the United States may not speak Creole as the main marker of their ethnic and cultural identity. The concern of Haitian churches is fascinating because it explains, in part, the conflict that the first generation is having with the younger generations on ethnic and cultural identities. Further, language is mentioned as creating more identity and, therefore, lessening the difference between the generations. Language is one means of cultural reproduction of a unified and strong community. For the first-generation parents of the younger generations, speaking and understanding the Creole language are part of ethnic identity. Whereas in Rolex's family, Pro's family, and judging by Abe's comments, being born in the United States and Haiti are determinants for the choice of speaking the ethnic language.

ROLE IDENTITIES

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show how 31 families of generational Haitians interviewed perceived themselves and how they thought others perceived them.

Table 3: Gender by Generation

Generation Gender	1 st	2 nd A	2 nd B	2 nd C	3 rd	4 th	Total
Male	10	9	5	10	13	0	47
Female	16	11	4	16	15	1	63
Total	26	20	9	26	28	1	110

Table 4: Position by Generation

Generation Role Position	1 st	2 nd A	2 nd B	2 nd C	3 rd	4 th	Total
Health Care	8	3	1	17	2		31
Engineering		2		2			4
Legal	1	3			1		5
Finance			1	1	3		5
Education	1	3	2	1	2		9
Service	5			1			6
IT	2	3					5
Student		3	5		24	1	33
Retired	9			3			12
Total	26	17	9	25	32	1	110

Table 5: Role by Generation

Generation Family Position	1 st	2 nd A	2 nd B	2 nd C	3 rd	4th	Total
Grandfather				1			1
Grandmother	4			1			5
Father	9	3		8			20
Stepfather	1						1
Mother	12	4	1	11			28
Son		6	4	1	11		22
Daughter		6	3	2	13	1	25
Stepdaughter		1					1
Grandson					2		2
Granddaughter					1		1
Son-in-Law			1				1
Daughter-in-Law				2	1		3
Total	26	20	9	26	28	1	110

The first-generation persons in the families are the first members of these families who moved to the U.S. They are likely to center on working and taking care of the rest of the family. The role and position of a member in a family determine how this member perceives himself/herself. A first generation in a family tends to identify as a mother, a father, or the position held in society besides the ethnic identity. Following this is the second generation C of Haitian immigrants. The cultural strength of this category is partially influenced by the homeland culture; and, for some, the time and additional

education received in the U.S. play a great role in describing themselves. The different positions held were categorized as health care, engineering, legal, finance, education, service, information technology (IT), student and retired. Second generation A are more likely to play between two cultures. However, second generation B born of Haitian parents are likely to depart from their parents' home language while upholding their cultural heritage, which influences them in constructing their self-perceptions. The third generation, born of Haitian parents of the second generation, tend to be more varied. They are between Haitian American and African American. The second generation B, also born in the U.S. from a first generation, struggle against stigmas like their parents have done, and they develop a type of resistance from racial and ethnic issues.

Stets and Burke (1986) contend that people perceive themselves according to their environment. A central part of identity is the categorization of the self as a position holder and the merging of the self with the meanings and beliefs related to that position and its accomplishments. Therefore, identity represents a set of meanings connected to the self in a social function. These sets of meanings become a reference for an individual. Identity for generational Haitian families is connected to their social roles and accomplishments.

Mara⁵ is a 44-year-old woman, and is the mother of Gina, a 15-year-old girl from F2B.

⁵ F2B. The father, a second Generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a medical doctor who was absent for the interview due to work. The mother, a first generation who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a foreign medical doctor. The daughter, a second generation A, is in the 10th grade in high school. The other daughter,

Mara: Well, I am a Haitian female born in Haiti, and what do I think about my identity? I am a real Haitian woman living in the United States. I still keep my Haitian culture even though I have lived in many different countries, which is sometimes confusing to people, including my children. I am from a different culture than the U.S. But I still remain 100% Haitian.

Rolande: *Who are you?*

Gina: I was born in Haiti. But I consider myself as a Haitian American. I came to the U.S. when I was three years old. Basically, I was culturalized by the American ideals, even though I'll never forget my roots because I'm from Haiti and do everything as a Haitian would do. I make sure that I represent both cultures equally.

Mara described herself as a "Haitian female" and, therefore, her perception is influenced by her nationality, gender, and culture. Her past experiences living outside of her home country brought her closer to Haitian culture, and, as such, she does not feel that she compromises her Haitian identity. However, her daughter Gina perceives herself as a Haitian American. Gina came to the U.S. when she was 3 years old, and her only association with Haiti is her parents. She was young enough to feel more American than Haitian. But because Haitian cultural factors are apparent in the home, Gina draws on the cultural perspective to embed American identity into her Haitian identity. Then, when I asked Gina and her mother how others might think about their identities or the way they see them, they responded as follows:

Gina: I mean, I don't show a bad way of myself. I would think they see me as a Haitian American. I do speak Creole even when I am not in a place where they speak Creole. I still keep my language and my background.

Rolande: *What about you? How do others see you?*

a third Generation who is in 8th grade in middle school, was unable to participate due to IRB requirements for participation.

Mara: Sometimes, people would think I'm from Jamaica even though I don't have the Jamaican accent. Most of the time, they think that I am from the Caribbean, not specifically Haiti. They see me as a foreigner or immigrant. Like my daughter just said, I carry my Haitian background with me. At the same time, I am very tolerant with other cultures. I am comfortable with other ethnic groups. But I always make sure that I represent my country and my culture in a positive way or positive manner. I mean by positive manner that being a Haitian is one more adding to being black. This says a lot. People do see me as a different kind of black.

Gina's knowledge and use of the Creole language demonstrate how she projects her identity. She believes that her cultural manners and her language are visible components for others' perception of her. Contrary to Gina, her mother Mara supposed that others perceived her as a foreigner, an immigrant or a Caribbean person, not necessarily as Haitian. Mara asserted that she carries herself in a way that others would see her as a "different kind of black." Such a comment indicates that Mara is distancing herself from the racial and ethnic hostilities. As Deaux's (2000) research on white immigrants and immigrants of color show, the in-group immigrants⁶ are generally accepted because of the importance that members give to the group membership while the out-group members are not generally accepted because of "obvious" racial and ethnic differences. For both Gina and Mara, the strong ties with Haitian culture can help navigate the effects of the racial stereotypes that blacks encounter every day in the U.S.

⁶ Deaux (2000) presented two groups of immigrants and argued that in-group immigrants are in better positions because of the group membership than the out-group immigrants. The history of blacks and whites are the typical illustration of the in-group and out-group difference.

Likewise, F3B⁷ has 3 people from 2 different generations. They reside in Broward County. Jog is 47 years old, and is the father and Pas, a 46-year-old, is the mother. Their son Mo is 12 years old. They responded to the question on identities as follows:

Rolande: *Please think about how you would think about your identities, or the way you think of yourself?*

Jog: Well, I see myself as a full-blooded Haitian, born and raised in Haiti, and I came here for educational purposes. I went straight to university in New York and moved to Florida back in 1998.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Pas: I came to the U.S. after high school and went straight to college. I graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Dietetics and Nutrition, and after that, I started working. Then, I met a young Haitian man who I am married to and we have two children.

Rolande: *Who are you?*

Mo: I am a 12-year-old boy. I study like I'm supposed to. I do play as well. I do exercises by playing basketball and tennis.

Jog defines himself as a "Haitian man." Like Mara, his perception of identity is related to his nationality and his position. Pas emphasized her role identities and described herself as a "dietician, a wife and a mother," and her perception of identity is linked to her profession and her family. For Mo, their son, his perception of identity is greatly influenced by his childhood and gender. Mo is a little boy; and, through his parents, he learned how his mother studied to be a dietician and his father an engineer. These are his references for opting to study. He follows what he has seen. His parents' experiences become the motivator for his success. Mo's presentation of self is related to Burke and

⁷ F3B. The father, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is an entrepreneurial engineer. The mother, who is also a second generation C, is a dietician and nutritionist. The son, a third generation, is in the 7th grade and homeschooled.

Tully's (1977) self-perception discussion that people adjust their identities continuously in reaction to their obtained identities from the social structure of their environment.

The younger generations in the two families varied in their responses in the way they perceived themselves. Gina's perception of self is related to the way her mother views herself as a person born and educated in Haiti. She is a second generation A, and Mara her mother, a first generation. Her answer implies that her mother has a tremendous influence on how she perceives herself. Mara's mother is a medical doctor who completed all of her education in her homeland. On the other hand, Mo's parents completed their high school in Haiti and university in the U.S. In almost all of the interviews, education was discussed. Education is considered to be one of major pathways to social life. Although both parents of the two families were born in Haiti, the processes of their education were not the same. Unlike Mara, both Jog and Pas are members of the second generation (C) and immigrated to the U.S. after high school. As noticed, Mara's education in Haiti privileges her daughter to a stronger cultural attachment to Haitian culture than Mo, whose parents have education in different countries.

When I asked Jog's family how others see them, they responded as follows:

Rolande: Please think about how others might think about your identities or the way they see you. What categories do you think people use to describe you to others?

Mo: Well, mostly they think I am an American.

Rolande: What categories do you think people use to describe you to others?

Mo: Probably African American.

Rolande: What do others think about you?

Jog: What others may think about me, while at first, until they start to interact with me, before that they see me as an African American, and later on they would realize that I am a Haitian man.

Rolande: *Haitian American or Haitian?*

Jog: Haitian

Pas: I would say the same thing. Haitian born and raised in Haiti, came to the United States, and still grounded with my roots. When there are forms from the census I would put “African American.” If they have place for “Other,” I will check it and specify “Haitian.”

Unlike Gina, Mo was born in the U.S. to second-generation Haitian parents. Mo perceives himself as an American and expects others to see him as that. When Mo was asked what categories people describe him to others, he replied that they probably classify him as an African American. English is Mo’s primary language and his skin color is brown. This suggests the perception of others is partially formed around what is visible to them. By accepting the role, Mo allows himself to act in the perception that others have set for him (Stets and Burke 1999). As a child, he learned how to be like his parents. At an advanced age, he went to school, he saw other children around him, and, thus, he perceived the expectation of others will be the way they view the other children who are like him. Unlike his parents, who were born in Haiti and raised in a Haitian household in the U.S., Mo believes that others’ perception of him is based on the color of his skin and his spoken language, which is different from his parents who have an accent, even though they have the same skin color and speak English. The cultural factors, coupled with the mainstream cultural stereotypes, create the components for perception of others.

To Jog and Pas, others’ perceptions relate to their culture and their skin color. In Mara’s case, she has an education that is totally Haitian and grew up in an environment

where everybody looks the same. Her dark skin color, coupled with her accent, brings her an identity conflict that she would not accept. Instead, she prefers to believe that others form impressions of her based on her education and her cultural background. This is somewhat different from Jog and Pas, who effectively know that they are black and people would not see them differently from that. To them, people form their perception based on what they are accustomed to: first, categorizing according to color, and assuming they are African Americans. Only after their interaction did others classify them as Haitian.

As Mara's and Jog's families' responses demonstrate, the perception of self and perception of others are framed by society, families, and our surroundings. A different thought is from F2B,⁸ which has 4 people from two different generations. Jami, a 55-year-old man is the father and Meme, a 45 year old is the mother. Their son Phil is 18 year old and their daughter Gabe is 13 years old. They were asked the questions:

Rolande: *Please think about how you would think about your identity, or the way you think of yourself?*

Jami: Proud to be Haitian American.

Meme: I think of myself as a mother.

Rolande: *What is your identity? A mother or... A Haitian American?*

Meme: Wow, uh—

Meme: No I was not born here; I was raised here. I think I'm as much American as I am Haitian. I think I'm accepting and open-minded as an American, and, I am...but I still go for...I raised my kids with a Haitian upbringing, the way I was taught in terms of...

⁸ F2H. Jami, the father, is a second generation C who is a medical doctor. Meme, the mother, is a second generation A who is a nurse. Phil, their son, is a third generation high-school student in 12th grade; and Gabe, their daughter, is a third generation middle-school student in 8th grade.

Rolande: *What do you mean?*

Meme: Principles. The Haitian principles. What I was taught as Haitian principles. That is how I raised my kids.

Rolande: *What about you? How would you describe yourself?*

Gabe: I was raised in a Haitian household, with a Haitian background. I do consider myself an American—but I guess I would be a Haitian American.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Phil: Describe myself? In context of, like, being Haitian? Um, like how it influenced me? It's just the way I treat everyone with respect, and I expect it back.

Rolande: *Who are you?*

Phil: Haitian American.

Jami is a second generation C who immigrated to the U.S. after completing high school. He went to college and graduate school in the U.S. Jami defines himself as Haitian American with regards to his perception: both Haitian and U.S. culture have played a big influence in his life. Meme, the wife of Jami, identifies herself as a mother and Haitian American. Meme has two children. She was born in Haiti and raised in the U.S. Her connection with American culture and her parents' cultural background makes her feel both American and Haitian. For Gabe, both Haitian household values and American upbringing are important; as such, she identifies as a Haitian American. Gabe is a third generation born of Haitian American parents. She speaks neither Creole nor French. Her identity is demonstrated by her declaration as Haitian American. Also, her brother Phil, a third generation, perceives his identity in a sense of give-and-take. To Phil, his success in life reflects who he is. Further, he describes himself as Haitian American and, as such, his perception of self is affected by both cultures. In this family, both children are influenced by their parents' cultural background as well as American

culture. The preceding families show that perception of self is related to our situations, our surroundings, and its accomplishments.

Those in Jami's family stated that people judge them on their success and actions. But their Haitian American identity seems to be stronger than that of the previous families discussed. When the members of the family were asked about what others might think about their identities, they responded:

Meme: When they see me, they see black. When they talk to me, they hear an accent. I went from being black and stupid to being Haitian and stupid.

Jami: Um, well I mean um, people certainly can detect an accent when I talk, but that doesn't bother me because it is their territory; and, after all, that's not my native language. And again, I remain to be one-hundred-percent Haitian, and I'm proud of it again—

Meme: Can I clarify something? When I mean stupid, because I feel like other nations, white America, they don't think black, no matter what, is as smart as they are. When they see you, you come in and they give you a look. They don't think that you know what it is they are talking about, or that you have the knowledge to do what they are expecting of you. And when they start talking to you, and they hear the accent, they're again, a little apprehensive. It's like they don't hundred percent trust you.

Rolande: *The first impression—*

Meme: The first impression. And eventually they get to know you, those would give you a chance, and they realize—Wow! That's better. And then they give you a chance.

Rolande: *What about you guys? What categories do you think people use to describe you to others?*

Phil: Initially, they assume I'm a regular black kid. Um, when I talk to them, I enunciate, I don't slur, don't use slang; and I guess I just, like, it seems before they talk to me, and it is just the stereotype.

Rolande: *Okay, what about you?*

Gabe: People expect me to be a certain way, I guess. I don't really know what others think of me. But they conceive of me the way they want to. The way I put myself out there, the way my family taught me to be, to be respectful, and to just enunciate, and be a regular smart person, so I don't really know.

Meme's views of others' perception of her were greatly influenced by the surroundings and negative stereotypes of blacks. Perception of others for Meme is based on skin color and spoken language. For many people in the U.S., the only image of Haitians is of Haitian refugees coming from the small boats or Haitians in Haiti suffering from natural disasters. According to Meme, being black in America is a negative characteristic that white America perceives of blacks regardless of who they are. Being black is a negative stigma that is always present. That is, the burden is on the black person to demonstrate that he or she does not conform to white's (predominant) negative view of blacks. In this case, Jami and Meme are very different. Jami recognizes that he has an accent and, because of that, he knows that people would automatically categorize him. But, for Meme, perception of others can change with experiences. Jami believes there are some characteristics that would not change. Because of that, others' perceptions are not too important for him. Thus, for him, considering others' perceptions would require him to change.

In this family, the children's views on the question were split between mother and father. Like his mother, Phil believes that the negative stereotypes about blacks are present and people prejudge based on those stereotypes. Gabe follows his father ideas of self-esteem. She thinks what others think of her would not change in the way she perceives herself. As discussed in the previous families, individuals often talked about creating a sense of self-confidence and self-perception to overcome the negative perception of others. These could be categorized as strategies mentioned by Feagin (2011) and by Thompson-Miller, Pica and Feagin (2014).

In F5D,⁹ Mach is 60 years old; Den, his wife, is 48-years old; and their two sons Macho and Stover are 17 and 15, respectively. Here are their responses to the following questions:

Rolande: *Please think about how you would think about your identities or the way you think of yourself? When you think about categories that you might use to describe yourself to someone, using one-word descriptions, what comes to mind?*

Mach: I am a waiter. I spend most of my life working as a waiter at a restaurant.

Rolande: *Who are you?*

Macho: I'm Haitian American.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Den: I am a CNA (Certified Nursing Assistant). I just left the nursing area to work as a housekeeper in a hotel.

Rolande: *Who are you?*

Den: Haitian.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Stove: American.

Macho: Haitian American

The perception of self for Mach is his ethnicity, its citizenship, and the job he does as a father to support his family. Mach is a member of the first generation. He left Haiti for the U.S. in pursuit of a better life. He has worked as a waiter since he has been in the U.S. Mach's description of his identity suggests that his perception is mostly influenced by his position as a waiter and his ethnicity. Mach is a U.S. citizen and sees himself as

⁹ F5D. The father, a waiter who is a first generation, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s. The mother, who is a hotel housekeeper, is a first generation who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s. The first son, who is a second generation B, is in 11th grade in high school. The second son, also a second generation B, is a high-school student in the 9th grade.

Haitian American as a result. His wife Den perceives herself as a nurse's aid, housekeeper, and Haitian. She is also a first-generation immigrant. Den came to join her husband in the U.S. in a quest for a suitable life. She explained that she was obliged to become a U.S. citizen to help her family back home, but that does not change her affinity with her homeland. Her narrative demonstrates that her perceptions are influenced by her occupations and her ethnicity. Their two sons Stove and Macho were born in the U.S. Macho, the oldest, describes himself as a Haitian American. He is a second generation B. He loves to go to Haiti to visit his grandparents. He enjoys the beach. Macho's perception of self is affected by his love for his grandparents and the attraction to Haiti. Conversely, Stove, the younger brother, went to Haiti when he was very young, but he has no memory of what Haiti looks like. He knows about his grandparents, but he has no relationship with them. Stove has only American friends in school. As a result of his friendships with his peers, he perceives himself as American.

I then asked the family "Now, please think about how others may think about your identities. What categories do you think people use to describe you to others?"

Their responses are as follows:

Stove: American to some. But I told them that I am Haitian.

Mach: Haitian.

Den: Haitian.

Macho: American.

Both Mach and Den were very proud to respond to the question by saying "Haitian."

This response is somewhat different from the previous families interviewed. As Wiley, Perkins, and Deaux (2008) argued, the views of the people for their own group represent their view of the society. The perceptions of others according to the older respondents

were not too much a concern for them because they know that as Haitians, the racial and ethnic stereotypes are a living fact that they have to face. Their sons, on the other hand, perceive themselves as American and therefore others also recognize them as such. But Stove contradicted what he had said previously about the way others see him. He modified his statements and said that others view him as a Haitian American. He made this shift of identity, probably, to be comparable to his parents' responses to the question. Stove and Macho attend a predominantly black high school, where the majority of the teachers are Haitians. Most likely as a result, Stove escapes some cultural stereotypes related to other ethnic blacks in the school, and this consequently changes some others' perceptions of him. However, for his brother Macho, the perception of others is that he is an American. In this sense, he views being defined as African American as an important part of his identity. This is interesting and demonstrates how, even within the same family, the importance and acceptance of Haitian identity can be different.

Role identities are important factors for self-perception, placing individuals in a ranked series of identities of a social structure and social networking. These identities are connected to the self in a social function (Stets and Burke 1999). This social function may differ: doctor, nurse, aid, physical therapist, engineer, etc. Attached to each social function are the expectations that direct individual behavior and feelings. Family 9B, described earlier, is a great example of how self-perception manifests itself between two different generations: third and second generation B. Here are their responses to the following questions:

Rolande: *Please think about the way you would think of your identities or the way you think of yourself?*

Rolax: How I think of myself? I am a proud Haitian. That's basically what it is.

Nay: For me, I see myself as a mixture of both. I'm so proud to remind people that I'm Haitian even though I was born in the U.S. And I think that's something we instilled in Rod, too. I'm very comfortable in my skin being black, but I love to be able to speak another language, to come from other culture. I would not give up that culture for the world. I love the spicy food, I love everything about it, and so I'm comfortable being of both.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Rod: You know identity for me: it's not a matter of question of how you see it as much of what it is. So for me, I am Haitian, I am American, I am African, recognized as our ancestors, our ancestry. So from that sense, I am African Haitian American because that's what I am. That's who I am in general; simply because of the fact that that's who I am and how I see myself. In regards to which culture that I identify with the most, I think sometimes it depends on the situation. So there are certain values that are instilled in me that are clearly from a Haitian context, and there are certain things that I have learned from being brought up in America. So if I asked myself which one I identify with more, I think in execution, American, but in feeling, Haitian. Being Haitian is not something to be afraid of, for not only myself but for a lot of people. It's not so much how I was raised as much as where I am from. I think if you're Haitian from South Florida, now it's cool. When you were a child, before the influx of the gang Zoe Pound, and before the Fugees in the hip-hop context, it wasn't cool to be Haitian. Maybe if you asked me that question 20-25 years ago, the answer would've been different, but now from the control standpoint, to be Haitian is more accepted, especially if you're from South Florida. Then it's something that you want to embrace.

You know, when I teach my students who are Haitian, I don't see any of them being ashamed of being Haitian. But if I were going to Kentucky, and you don't know a lot of Haitians, it doesn't matter how my parents raised me. I think you kind of adapt stuff to society around you, and being Haitian in Kentucky is something different. So for me, what it comes to is this: identity is who you are; you can't deny it even if you try with three concepts—African, Haitian, American. Let me say this, I saw a movie, *Belle*, yesterday and there was a scene in the movie. Throughout the movie, it's clear of Belle's identity in the movie. It's how she was raised, white and British. She couldn't erase the mirror and she was also black, but her acceptance of being black comes later on in the movie. But no matter what Belle did, and there's a scene in the movie when she tries to wipe her face off, she couldn't deny her identity, you know. So, when you look at the question of identity for me, I take it as it is who you are, whether you deny it or not. I don't deny any of it. Even if I denied it to you, I would still be Haitian.

Rolande: *When you think of categories that you might use to describe yourself to someone, using one-word descriptions, what comes to mind?*

Rod: Human.

Rolande: *Well, what if you have to fill in the blanks: African American, black, Latino? What comes to mind?*

Rod: Okay. From that standpoint, if they would see which one are you out of the three, then I would say Haitian.

Nay: It's funny you should say that. I usually select "Other" and then put "Haitian American" because that's how I feel and I feel that part of me needs to be represented; it needs to have a voice.

Rolex and his wife both are second generations. But they are from two different immigrant/generational categories, which explained their perception of how they describe themselves. Rolex was born in Haiti, even though he left very young. To him, a Haitian ethnic identity would help him in fighting against racial discrimination in the U.S. His wife, who was born in the U.S. from first-generation parents, preferred to have a Haitian American identity, as she held on to her cultural heritage in order to dissociate herself with racial stereotypes. This has been the emphasis of the first-generation parents: to instill Haitian culture in their children as they want to see them being successful in the U.S. with very strong ancestral cultural values. In comparison to second generation A, the second generation B are more likely to perceive themselves as Haitian American. The third generation has a greater likelihood to combine their identities into a triple ethnic identity, understanding that perception of self is influenced by several factors. Likewise, Rod a third generation of Haitian descent, has an approach that is different from the views of members of same group. They are part of what one does and one's surroundings in life.

Table 6 (and Accompanying Graph): Perception of Others

1st Gen.	2 nd Gen. A	2 nd gen. B	2 nd gen C	3 rd gen.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haitian • Jamaican • Haitian American • Hispanic • Puerto Rican 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haitian • Black • African American • Hispanic • Haitian American 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haitian • Black • Haitian American • American 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreigner • Haitian • Hispanic • Black • Bahamian • Jamaican 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boat People • American • Bahamian • Haitian American • Black • Haitian • Caribbean

Note: 4th generation not included, as it is just one person.

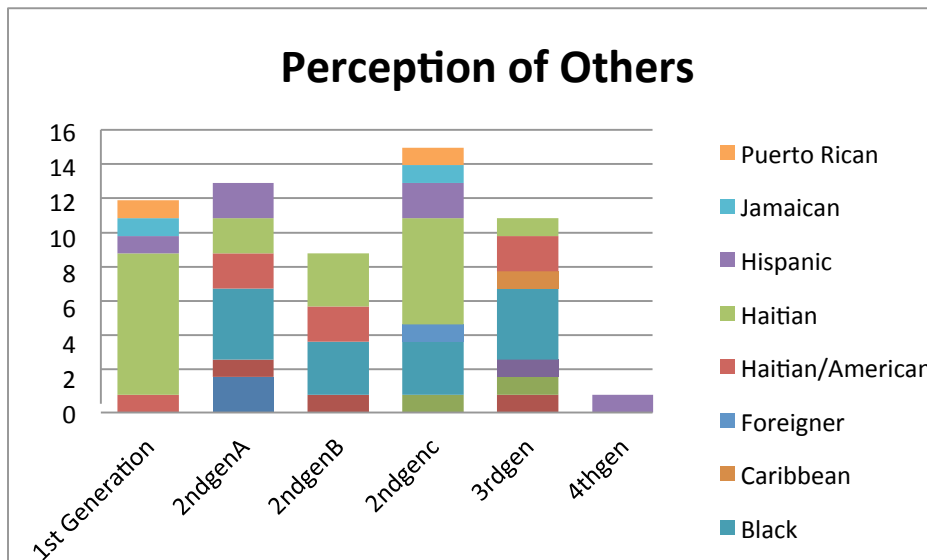


Table 6 and the accompanying graph reflect the response of the 31 families interviewed. The first generations routinely mention the following ethnic identities: Haitian, Jamaican, Haitian American, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Dominican or Cuban. The different ways that others perceive Haitian immigrants, children of Haitian immigrants, second generation A and B and the third generation are more likely as African American, Hispanic, black, and boat people. These identifications are produced and

enhanced by Florida media. The third generations have the command of the English language, so others are more likely to view them as an American, African American, and/or Hispanic American. Perceptions of others for Haitian immigrants and their children are formed around the stereotypes related to Haitian culture and racial biases of the U.S.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Schiller et al. (1999) described the effects of transnational immigration on identity related to the Haitian homeland. They define the concept of “transnational field” to explain how family obligations and the experiences of immigration are understood through a language of blood that links individuals to broader concepts of a transnational homeland. Community-based organizations, community congregational organizations, ethnic professional organizations, and students’ organizations all serve as liaisons to facilitate the transition between Haiti and the U.S. They bring attention to issues related to immigration, human rights, education, health, and economic development for both Haitian communities in the U.S. and Haiti. The most important role of these organizations is to bring awareness to the ethnic group so that the younger generation would not be deprived of his/ her parents’ culture. The two major factors of cross-generational multifaceted identities of Haitian immigrants that are important to community relations are the role that Haiti plays and the rationalization of racial differences in the U.S. (Woldemikael 1989; Zephir 1995).

The presence of community organizations of the first generation of Haitian immigrants was important in sustaining social and economic needs. The community organizations serve as liaisons between the social and economic mainstream of the U.S. to develop strong social standing for the members of the Haitian communities. Community organizers advocated for immigrant rights and well-being. They encouraged the younger generations to stay in touch with their culture through community, media, social events, and organizing with artists, historians, and different kinds of professionals, including political leaders. In addition, the services have evolved according to the needs of the community, which definitely involved prioritizing advocacy for the Haitian refugees. By doing so, they reinforced group identity, which gives rise to other ethnic organizations, such as congregational organizations, different professional organizations, and student organizations. To counter the effects of racial stereotyping, which stands as a barrier to integration, the organizations' leadership encouraged their groups to protect their ethnic identity by keeping economic and cultural ties with the homeland. Most of the families who participated in this study had been members of one of those organizations. Indeed, this is how recruiting occurred for the study. Many had occupied in the past or now occupy a leadership position in the communities.

F6D¹⁰ has three people of three different generations, and they provide a good example of such strong organizational ties. Jeb is 71 years old, his wife Katella is 63, and their son Cary is 33. Note their responses to the following questions:

¹⁰ F6D. The father, a second generation C, is a retired diplomat. The mother, a second generation A, is a nurse. The son, a third generation, holds an MBA.

Rolande: *Do you belong to special organizations or communities that bring together Haitians?*

Jeb: Not right now, but throughout the years I served in different organizations I was a member of. I was the chairman of the board of the Haitian Refugee Center and vice president of the Acade Medical Clinic and also spokesperson for Veye Yo [grassroots organization]. I had done that until I was asked to serve to serve as Consul General in 1991, so that is when I stopped being a member of Haitian community organizations you know so.

Rolande: *Were you also a member or you have only supported your husband?*

Katella: I was one-hundred-percent behind him. I believed in the struggle. I thought it was a struggle. I gave him all my support.

Rolande: *Why was it a struggle?*

Katella: Well, combating the dictatorship of Duvalier was a struggle. It was a struggle.

Rolande: *What about you? Do you belong to any organization that brings together Haitians?*

Cary: Currently no, but in high school I was part of the Black Awareness program. There were no specific Haitian organizations but that was probably the closest organization that we had in high school; and, as far as any other organizations, no.

Jeb, a second generation C, left Haiti after law school to join his parents, who had fled the Duvalier regime, in New York. He first landed in New York and later he moved to Miami. In New York, he went to graduate school and started to work. He met his wife Katella, who gave birth to their son Cary. On the other hand, Katella, a second generation B, moved to the U.S. before finishing high school, so her experiences living in the U.S. are not comparable those who spent more time in Haiti. Jeb¹¹ had a contract

¹¹ **Jeb:** Yes, as a matter of fact, I was going to say that Miami was not my destination because from New York, I had a contract with the United Nations to go to Seychelles Ile Maurice. Then, in 1978, I came here to visit one of my uncles, who moved from New York to Miami. Then, I met some friends. When I told them that I was going to go to Seychelles they asked me: “Why Seychelles? Because here in Miami we need people like you. You can be great asset.” Later, one of my friends asked me for my resume and offered me a job to work at the University of Miami for the Community Mental Health

with the United Nations to go to Seychelles. However, with the approval of his wife, he chose to leave New York for Miami to work with the newly arrived Haitian refugees. Both Jeb and Katella are second-generation members who were involved at some point in the social environment of Haiti and Haitian immigrants. By joining a number of community organizations in Miami, Jeb gained resources to organize the non-refugee members of the Haitian communities to bring more attention and support to the Haitian refugee crisis. Katella feels she contributes to the fight by supporting her husband and recognizing that the struggle was not just targeted at refugees but also politics in general.

Their son, Cary, was born in the U.S. He is a third generation and his contact with Haitian culture was through his parents. In that sense, he was more exposed to American culture. So, in college, he joined the Black Awareness program, which was a broader movement that helped enable him to strengthen his self-identity and also heightened his awareness of racial discrimination. This demonstrates some of Deaux's (2011) points about the progression in generations and differential identity. All family members were involved in organizations, but the son's affiliation was with Black Awareness. He is line with Deaux (2011), for an immigrant to become American requires a new social identity. Thus, going through the process leads to three issues: multiple meanings related to American identity; different deviations that come with the immigrant experience as they differ by ethnicity; and changing levels of engagement in

Haitian Unit. The purpose of the Center was to assist the newly arrived Haitians in the United States. Before I accepted the offer, I asked my wife. She said, "it was better to stay in the U.S. than be going all over to Seychelles, Ile Maurice." This is how I moved to Miami.

the immigrant community. In adhering to the social or community organizations, some respondents link their transnational homeland to American identity, to their experiences, and to their level of engagement in the community.

Josie,¹² an executive board member of the Haitian American Foundation of Tampa Bay (HAFTB),¹³ says:

I had constant fights with the teachers in the school because the association members volunteered their time to help Haitian students and they had tried to stop us. So what I did: I called the governor and the Minister of Education to allow me to sit in the class with my Haitian students. And right now those Haitian students are all in college—except for one, who already finished college, married, and had his children in school.

Josie is a second generation C. She used her membership to fight racial inequality within the school system in Tampa Bay through the HAFTB. Members of the organization volunteer their time to serve the Haitian students in the Hillsborough school system. The drive to connect with a philanthropic organization for second-generation immigrants has different motives. For Josie, the rights of high school students of Haitian descent were violated and, therefore, she felt that the association members had a duty to fight the battle on their behalf. In fact, when Josie brought her complaint to the Governor and the Minister of Education, she was allowed to sit in the classroom assisting Haitian students. The message was clear to the public that attacks on Haitian students were not going to be unanswered, and this was because there was a Haitian American Foundation in Tampa

¹² F7H. This family consists of a grandmother, a second generation C who is a retired high school teacher. A grandfather, also a second generation C, is a retired accountant; and their granddaughter, a fourth generation, is a 3rd-year college student.

¹³ In 1999, HAFBT established the Conze Scholarship as an incentive and reward for students of Haitian descent to successfully achieve their education and continue to further education.

Bay willing to respond. This is similar to the level of commitment that Jeb took when he participated in mobilizing Haitian immigrants around Haitian refugee rights. These movements are not only linked to the U.S., but are very well connected to the homeland, as political and economic factors drove a whole variety of people out of the country.

The Robert family (F7B)¹⁴ has four members from two generations. They are in their 40s and have two children: Charley and Shade, who are respectively 16 and 17 years of age. Here are their responses on the question: Do you belong to any special organization or community that brings together Haitians?

Sag: Yeah, for the last nine years, I've been part a group that supports Haiti: Man Dodo Humanitarian Foundation. We do fundraising once a year to raise money to support building schools and giving medical care to people in need in Port Salut [a city in the south region of Haiti]. A group of doctors and nurses goes every year to assist with medical needs. Last year, we raised \$5000.

Rob: Don't forget to mention the book club.

Sag: We also have a book club with 15 professionals. We meet every month for 7 months of the year. We talk about and read literature and books written by Haitian authors. We also donate money to organizations that provide services to the Haitian community. The Nursing Association goes to Haiti every year to help with the training of the nurses. They just had their gala with the First Lady of Haiti as their guest of honor. We have a number of organizations in Florida that supports Haiti. That is my way to give back to the country.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Sag: He supports my organization.

Rob: I support her.

Sag: He is there. You know, he helps a lot.

¹⁴ F7B. The father, a second generation C who was born in Canada, is an engineer who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s. The mother, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is an executive banker. The son, a third generation, is in 10th grade in high school. The daughter, a third generation, is in 9th grade in high school.

Rolande: *What about you, guys?*

Charley: No.

Shade: No.

Sag was born in Haiti and moved with her family at a very young age to Canada. In her 20s, she moved with her husband. The family is comprised of two children. When Sag and Rob were teenagers, they spent their vacations in Haiti. They are very proud of their cultural background. Even though Rob was born in Canada from Haitian and Canadian parents, he felt very attached to Haitian culture. They moved to Florida to be closer to Haiti, and joined a charity organization that brings help to the homeland and a cultural organization that strengthens identity and makes children aware of their ethnic identity. Sag's participation in the Man Dodo Humanitarian Foundation is a direct contribution to a small part of the country. When Rob was asked, his response was: "I supported my wife with her organization." In fact, Sag was not only a member of Man Dodo, she also was the head of a book club that met every month to discuss Haitian literature and books written by Haitian authors. For members of the book club, the cultural background is the backbone of the community.

Likewise, F10B¹⁵ consists of three people: Willful, a 64-year-old father; Ruth, his 58-year-old wife; and their son Mann, who is 35 years old. Below is their response to questions regarding their participation in organizations.

Rolande: *Do you belong to special organizations or communities that bring together Haitians?*

¹⁵ F10B. The father, a first generation who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a technician. The mother, a first generation, is a nurse who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s. Both are second generation immigrants to Canada. The son, a second generation A who was born in Canada, works with his mother.

Ruth: Sure, I belong to organizations in my church and I am part of a nonprofit organization. It is a missionary organization doing mostly all its work in Haiti.

Rolande: *What is the name of the organization?*

Ruth: New Hope Ministries International.

Rolande: *What do you do?*

Ruth: We go from village to village. We give medical assistance to the needy people. We feed and clothe them. We teach them hygiene. We also have Christian revivals as a way to let the people in the areas know that we love them.

Rolande: *What about you? Are you also a member of New Hope?*

Willful: Oh yes. I am part of New Hope and also I belong with my wife.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Mann: Yes. I provide support to my mother's organization. Basically, I provide humanitarian help to Haiti.

Like Sag, Ruth is a second-generation immigrant to Canada, but she is a first generation to the U.S. Ruth is a nurse. She moved to Miami with her husband when their children were in elementary school. In Canada, she was very involved in helping the Haitian community. Moving to the U.S. did not change her involvement in doing community work. Her transition from Canada to the U.S. strengthened her community identity to a transnational homeland. Her affiliation with New Hope International positioned her in a leadership role to mobilize the Haitian Christians and medical professionals in contributing to villages that were underserved by the political power and philanthropy groups. Ruth's desire to serve influenced her son, a second generation A, into developing a community identity. Providing support to his mother's organization ties him with his parents' homeland. Although the community-based organizations were created to help fighting social injustice, the main reason was to protect their cultural heritage (Deaux, Reid, Martin, and Bikman 2006)

In family F3H,¹⁶ involvement in organizations is predominantly about identity rather than politics. Will is 56 years old; Caroler, his wife, is 47 years old; and their daughter Catherina is 18 years old.

Catherina: Actually I became aware of a Haitian group that cooks Haitian food every Friday at school at the end of the school year. They just celebrated being Haitian. I have never seen something like that. The cultural values were positively influenced by many other cultures. I didn't know they had that at my school.

Rolande: *Do you belong to any special organization or communities that bring together Haitians?*

Will: no

Caroler: I would like to.

Rolande: *What about church? Are you a member of a group in your church?*

Caroler: Church, oh yeah.

Will: I used to, but now we go to the English speaking church.

Caroler: However, we often visit the Haitian church.

Will: Yeah.

Will is a second generation C. He came to the U.S. to join his parents in New York. He went to school to become an accountant. He married Caroler and later on moved to Florida because their son had an allergic reaction with the weather. In Florida, he had difficulties finding a job in his field. He switched fields, which allowed him to settle until he could return to his previous activities. Because his time was focused on work, Will could not be involved in any Haitian organizations. Also, because he no longer

¹⁶ F3H. The father, a second generation C, is a nursing assistant. The mother, also a second generation C, is a licensed practical nurse. The daughter, a third generation, is in the 12th grade.

works as an accountant, embarrassment influenced his decision to not participate in any organizations. Though Will is not participating in any Haitian community organizations, he would still visit the Haitian church. However, he regularly attends an English speaking church. He chose the English speaking church for his children.

The school experience influenced Catherina to dedicate some hours after school to help the Haitian students with a lack of proficiency in English. Becoming knowledgeable of this group reinforced Catherina's pride of Haitian culture. Catherina's work made her mother want to join a Haitian organization. The reason for people to join a community organization can be related to many things. For example, F9H¹⁷ consists of 4 people from 3 different generations. They reside in Dade County. Peter is 64 years old, and his wife Ellen is 54. Say, their daughter, is 37 years old; and their son Jocko is 32 years old. Below are their responses to the question about involvement in a community organization that brings together Haitians.

Peter: No, I've never been a part of any organization.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Ellen: We had.

Jocko: I was the president of an organization that brings citizens of Cotes-de-Fer [a small city in the southeast of Haiti] together. We have done fundraising to raise money for the construction of a hospital and also for installation of electricity.

¹⁷ F9D. The stepfather, a first Generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is an electrician. The mother, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s, is a dialysis technician. The son, a third generation, is an administrator. The daughter, also a third generation, is a lawyer.

Ellen: Yes.

Jocko: We have a branch in New York and here.

Rolande: *Does the organization help people in all of Haiti or only in Cotes-de-Fer?*

Peter: To help Haitians in Cotes-de-Fer. We already electrified the region. I gave more than 12 acres of my land to the community for a hospital to be built in Cotes-de-Fer.

Ellen: I think they already started building it already.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Peter: She was the one who helped me.

Ellen: Yeah, I was the one who did the cooking when we had the gatherings.

Peter: Every time I had a party, she was ready to go.

Rolande: *Do you belong to an organization that brings together Haitians?*

Say: When I was in college, I was the president of the Haitian student group for a period of time. ... I did some other stuff... and also worked for a Haitian nonprofit organization for four years. For whatever reason, I always found myself doing something in the Haitian arena. It helps me meet more people. ... So I can understand more about the culture since I'm not from Haiti.

Among the first-generation and second-generation Haitian immigrants, the well-being of Haitian cities was a big concern. Thus, those members reached out to organizing groups in the U.S. for support to the homeland city in Haiti. In contrast, their children were more interested in participating in groups associated with their schools or colleges. The first generation had an incentive of grouping members of different Haitian communities to form regional organizations because this kept them in touch with their cities and empowered them to political positions at a later time. For Say, as a third generation of Haitian descent participating or working in the Haitian arena, this is a way for her to explore her culture and ethnic identity.

It is worth mentioning that most of the respondents who were leaders in the community organizations are mostly a second generation A or second generation C. The

second generation B and third generation were more involved in cultural and school organizations. Their involvement with these organizations allowed them to stay connected with homeland's cultural values. The regional associations associated with the homeland were headed by the first generation. By organizing to serve the underprivileged members of the community, the leader needs to have a strong knowledge of both the country of origin and the host country. Further, to engage other ethnic groups to ally in the fight, the organizations have to be able to describe the characteristics of immigrant ethnic backgrounds.

CHAPTER V

BEING AN IMMIGRANT IN THE U.S.

Adjustment for immigrant families in the U.S. mainstream culture is an everyday challenge. In line with Deaux (2000), a number of factors shape the world of immigrants and bring a distinct identity. The Haitian immigrants, who immigrated to the U.S., often find themselves at odds with American social and cultural values. This creates family generational conflicts, which expose affective, emotional issues with children. To explore adjustments that families employ, the 31 families interviewed were asked about their homeland, values, or beliefs that are particularly Haitian as well as their experiences in Haiti vs. U.S.

COUNTRY OF ANCESTRAL ORIGIN

Where one is born is an important defining characteristic. So, it is not surprising that the different generations had different views depending upon their experience in Haiti. The families who responded with a strong affection for Haiti as the country of their birth had their children visit at least once and keep closer ties with their family members living in the country. This kind of affectionate response appeared in second generation B born of first-generation immigrants in the U.S. and members of the third generation born of parents from second generation C. However, third-generation children born of second generation B are more attached with the country of origin than

the third generation born of parents from second generation A. For example, F8H¹⁸ consists of 5 people. Guile is 57 years old, husband Charm is in his 60s, their son Sambas is 30, and twin daughters Lau and Arlee are 24 years old.

Guile: I think of Haiti fondly... but as distant from my everyday life now.

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti?*

Guile: Not often.

Rolande: *Are family members in Haiti?*

Guile: Some.

Rolande: *Do you think of Haiti as your country?*

Sambas: No, I visited it not as an adult.

Rolande: *Do you still see Haiti as your country?*

Lau: No.

Arlee: No, I wasn't born there.

Charm: Not really.

Guile, a second generation A, left Haiti when she was 10 years old. She lived most of her life in the U.S. Her only connection with Haiti was through her parents. Charm, a second generation C, left Haiti at a later time. He has lived longer in Haiti and among its culture than his wife. Their three children are considered third generation. Guile has a tender feeling for Haiti, but she is not connected to Haiti. Because of her distance from the country, her three children do not feel connected to the country. Unlike Guile, Charm was born and partly raised in Haiti. He remembers his youth in Haiti, and, as such, feels connected despite various changes that he does not like. However, the

¹⁸ F8H. The mother, a second generation A, is a lawyer. The father, a second generation C, is a college professor. The son, a third generation, is a realtor with a degree in finance. The first daughter, a third generation, is a high school coach. The second daughter, a third generation, is in her first year of medical school.

mother still influenced all of the children, regardless of their father's recollections of Haiti. Even though he referred to Haiti as home, he does not disagree with his wife's stance. Given the fact that Guile and Charm are not attached to the country, their children feel no connection, either. In fact, they view Haiti like any other foreign country. For Guile, living in the U.S. is more comfortable than Haiti.

Guile: Even though I say I'm more comfortable here than in Haiti and I don't see Haiti as my country anymore, I really don't see the U.S. as my country, either. So, I'm in no man's land, basically. ... I'm glad to be here. I am glad to make my life here. But I've never felt patriotic about the U.S.

Lau: I feel the same way and I was born here. But I think that it has to do with the way I was raised.

Samba: I feel a sense of patriotism, but I feel it the most when I visit other countries; and I feel like the degree of patriotism I have draws me to want to visit other countries as often as possible. I feel the interest of living here for a very long time, but as often humanly possible, I want to visit not only other countries and other planets and it is the direct result of my experiences here. I want to see where we differ in terms of culture and in terms of infrastructure ... things like that.

Charm: For me, it is home. It is good but not as good as it used to be some twenty, thirty years ago.

Guile's indifference to Haiti and her sense of disconnection influenced her daughters' perspectives and beliefs about patriotisms. The lack of association with Haiti is evident in the way Lau and Samba assert their identity in the U.S. as their birth country. Perhaps, the lack of visits to Haiti contributes to their disinterest with the familiarization of the country. In fact, Lau associated her thoughts with the way she was raised. As Wiley et al. (2008) pointed out, the group members' views influence others. Lau's mother's disassociation with Haiti tends to prevent her from having any loyalty to any country. For Samba, because of her lack of options to be part of her parents' country

of origin, she developed a sense of patriotism for the U.S., her country of birth; and this patriotism gets stronger when visiting other countries.

A dissimilar response is made by F4D.¹⁹ Mary is 56 years old and the mother of 23-year-old Piling, 28-year-old Kimble, as well as the mother-in-law of 28-year-old Loam, Kimble's husband.

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti? Or have you been to Haiti?*

Kimble: I feel like I want to go again, to experience it as an adult. I've gone when I was younger, and in between that time it's always been a scary place. People have told stories that it's a scary place. But then, I've heard stories about how it's a beautiful place and how much it has changed. So, I want to go and experience things as an adult and maybe as a tourist. I don't think I would like to live there.

Rolande: *Do you think of Haiti as your country?*

Kimble: No, as my mother's country.

Rolande: *Do you still think of Haiti as your country?*

Mary: Yes. But now I am scared to go.

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti often?*

Mary: I used to go often. But not now

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti?*

Loam: Corrupted. Uh ... not—no real strict laws there.

Rolande: *Are your parents here?*

Loam: Yeah. My mom and my dad—both of them are here.

¹⁹ F4D. The mother, a second generation C, is single and working as a nursing assistant. The son-in-law, a second generation A, is a computer technician. The first daughter, a third generation, is a beautician. The second daughter, also a third generation, is a senior in college.

Rolande: *Do you consider yourself as a second-generation Haitian from your family in the U.S.?*

Loam: Yeah, basically.

Rolande: *What about you? How do you think of Haiti?*

Piling: Well, I haven't been to Haiti since I was younger. Um, I think—I'm not sure how to answer that question.

Kimble was born and raised in the U.S. to a mother who is a second generation C. She went to Haiti with her mother during her childhood. She only recalled that time. Now that she is an adult, she would like to see the beauty of it, not the negative stereotypes associated with it. Loam, her husband, was born in Haiti, but left when he was young; and he felt less associated with Haiti than his U.S.-born wife. Even Kimble does not consider Haiti as her country, although she still expressed positive sentiments toward it. Although her husband mentioned that Haiti is corrupt with no presence of the law, Kimble disagreed because of her mother's experiences.

Mary, the mother of Kimble and Piling, was born and raised in Haiti. She came to join her parents after high school. Like Charm (F8H), Mary is a second generation C who is very attached to her homeland. She was able to transfer her love for Haiti to her children even though they were not born there. In comparison, Loam and Guile (F8H) both are members of second generation A and share the same type of feeling for Haiti. With both families, the children are influenced by their parents' perceptions. Piling, also a third generation and the youngest of the family, had no responses, which indicates her possible lack of contemplation on the matter.

While the third generation was often less attached to their country of ancestors, the second generation B often developed a desire to discover more about Haiti. F8D²⁰ consists of 4 people from two generations. Mann is a 59-year-old man, and his wife Ann is 51. They have two children: 24-year-old daughter Lea and 23-year-old son Ralf. They shared their perspectives of Haiti by answering the following questions:

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti?*

Ann: Ask her. She just came from Haiti.

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti?*

Lea: I think of Haiti differently from what people portray in the media. In different areas, people always ask you for money. People always live in impoverished areas. After going there, I think of Haiti now as a place full of cultures. Haiti has a lot of nice places, wonderful people, and a lot of great food. I think of it as a place that I am from. ... I am from there.

Rolande: *You were born in the U.S.*

Lea: I know. I went when I was younger. But I never identified that I came from Haiti. They used to live here. I did not fully understand what my parents were saying when they said, "I am Haitian" until I went there.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Ralf: I have a different outlook than my sister about Haiti because she recently went. The last time I went, I was in elementary or middle school. What I experienced was a lot of poverty. What she said, the media was saying. A lot of people were asking for things. This is exactly what I've seen. The temperature wasn't that pleasing to me, because I'm not really a person who likes a very hot climate. I see a different side of Haiti. To me, when I think of Haiti, I think of poverty.

Ann: He went to the countryside. When he went there, he took the plane to Port-au-Prince and took another plane to Saint Louis [a city in the North of Haiti].

²⁰ F8D. The father, a first generation A, is a school bus driver. The mother, a first generation B, is a certified elementary school teacher. The daughter, a second generation B, is a senior in college. The son, also a second generation B, is a certified teacher.

When we were in Saint Louis, all we did ... We took them to the river and a lot of poor kids were asking for money and this was the reason why my daughter really wanted to go back to see another side of Haiti.

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti?*

Mann: Yes, I do.

Rolande: *Are family members in Haiti?*

Mann: Yes, my father and mother are dead. But I still have brothers, cousins, and aunts living there. And I am looking forward to going back.

Rolande: *What about you? Do you go to Haiti?*

Ann: Yes.

Rolande: *Are family members in Haiti?*

Ann: I have brothers and sisters.

Rolande: *Do you think of Haiti as your country?*

Lea: Yes.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Ralf: Yes, I am Haitian American.

It appears that an important aspect of identification is actual experience with Haiti, but the experience varied. The reaction of Ralf was negative; in essence, he saw the negative aspects of Haiti, much like a “visitor” rather than as a Haitian. On the other hand, Lea saw Haiti in a much more varied way. As an adult, Lea visited Haiti, but Ralf did not have the opportunity to do so. As a result of her visit, Lea claimed a Haitian identity that her mother, Ann, a first generation, was trying to relate to her children. As the conversation indicates, people choose whether to relate or not to Haiti for diverse motives. The trip to Haiti as an adult definitely played a major role in reinforcing Lea’s thoughts on Haiti. It provided her with a strong national identity as a Haitian.

A study on first- and second-generation Afro-Caribbean students by Deaux (2007) revealed that Caribbean students do not perform well in a context surrounded

with negative stereotypes. The broadcast of negative images of Haiti have played a large role in the ways in which Ralf perceives Haiti. Ann admitted that Ralf flew from the capital to the countryside, where he was exposed to people who lived a “peasant” life. For Ralf, there was no distinction between what he witnessed in Haiti and what the media presented in relation to Haiti. He acknowledges his ancestry through an assertion of a Haitian American (rather than Haitian) identity. However, the relationships that Mann and Ann have kept with their relatives, along with and including their trips to Haiti, influenced how their children remained attached to their ethnic group.

In another family, there is evidence that younger people distance themselves from their parents. Rosette is 51 year old, and her son Angel is 18 years old.

Rosette: I think Haiti is a great country even though they only show the bad part in the media. But we have beautiful beaches and neighborhoods. The images of Haiti portrayed in the media make the biggest effects on the way our kids view Haiti.

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti?*

Rosette: Yes, I go.

Rolande: *Are there any family members in Haiti?*

Rosette: Yes, I have.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Angel: I don’t really think anything of Haiti because I am more into American stuff because that’s where I was born; and my parents were born in two different places. Like my dad, he was born in the Dominican Republic.

Rosette: Not Dominican Republic. Aruba.

Angel: But his parents were from the Dominican Republic.

Rosette: When he went to Haiti, he was only three.

Angel: I don’t think anything of the Dominican Republic as well. I just think of it as a place.

It is interesting to note Angel’s clear dissociation from Haiti because of his parents’ separate birthplaces as well as his reducing both locations to merely a “place.”

Although the first generation and second generation C may have attached to their homeland, not all of them married or have children with members of the same ethnic group. Rosette is a nurse. She left Haiti as an adult to join her parents in the U.S. She married twice: once with a man of Dominican origin; and once with a man of Haitian descent. She had two children from the Dominican man and none with the Haitian man. Her marriage outside of the ethnic group created an ambivalent identity for her son Angel. She has a close relationship with her family members and goes to Haiti almost every year. However, the affection that Rosette has for Haiti was not transmitted to Angel. Being born of two different parents left Angel with the impression that he does not belong to either group; and, as such, he prefers to be seen as an American. Angel went to Haiti with his mother at a young age; but, as he grew up, the only images that he had of Haiti were the negative ones from the U.S. media.

Focusing on the U.S. immigration debate, Deaux (2008) examined the different corners of the new immigrants' life where the majority of them are people of color. According to her, the issues of identity for immigrants must be understood within the immigrant experiences. Very discrepant views of Haiti emerged from the interviews of this last family. While Angel's mother had a very positive view of Haiti, it did not seem to manifest with him. It was easier for Angel to adopt his country of birth as his own since it is a place that would not conflict between mother's and father's countries of

ancestry. Another example is from F6H.²¹ Ed is 62 years old, his wife Jonah is 61 years old, and their daughter Arianne is 23 years old.

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti?*

Ed: Well, Haiti is my country and I love it.

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti?*

Ed: Yes.

Rolande: *Are family members in Haiti?*

Ed: Yes, my mom and dad were in Haiti. My mom just passed away in the beginning of the year.

Rolande: *Do you think of Haiti as your country?*

Ed: Of course!

Rolande: *Do you go to Haiti?*

Jonah: I haven't been. No.

Arianna: I've been once.

Ed was born in Haiti and left there as an adolescent to join his parents, who lived in the U.S. He went to college in New York and married Jonah, an African American who believed that her ancestors were from somewhere in the Caribbean. From this marriage, he had several children. Ed expressed his love for Haiti, but started to visit again when his parents had moved back to live there. With families whose parents do not share ethnicity and immigrant status, transmitting a country identity can be an issue. Adrianna has an African American mother and a Haitian father. She went to visit Haiti once as an adult with her father. Even though Adrianna grew up with both parents, she

²¹ F6H. The father, a second generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s, is a high school teacher. The mother, an African American, is an administrator. The daughter, a third generation, is a high school teacher who is going to graduate school.

lives as an American rather than as a Haitian. While in Haiti, she believed that others perceived her as an American. Further in the conversation she said:

Adrianna: I think I got a lot of attention because I was American.

Rolande: *Do you think that had happened because you are black or because you were a foreigner?*

Adrianna: Yes, but um ... like I said, any other country that I go to, there seems to be a priority based upon European features like straight hair.

While Adriana seems to have a great relationship with her father, her mother's African American identity is so engrained in her identity that she tried to compare the two countries' racial biases without realizing that Haiti is a black country. According to Adrianna:

The choices of hairstyles like relaxers and weaves and things like: what should be complimented on versus what you are? I wear my hair in twists and they would ask me why my hair was that way and would I consider relaxing it or why do I have that type of hair.

Given to the long history of race and physical appearances in the U.S., Adrianna presumed that she was asked about her hairstyle because many Haitians have preferences for European hairstyles. This idea relates to the previous one that she was receiving attention because she is an American. According to Feagin (2010), the white racial frame continues unabated long after the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. A new form of racial bias has emerged in a combination of racial stereotypes, beliefs, images, and emotions. Interestingly, while the children born of both Haitian parents did not assign important value to hairstyles, the respondents with one Haitian parent (like Adrianna) ascribed meaning to it. This definition is, in essence, racial framing. The cultural influence and social value of curly and braided hair are very important in defining beauty for Haitians. However, Adrianna is unaware of these differences because she

only experienced Haiti for the first time and her opinion was formed based on her past experiences with the visual aspect of U.S. society.

Based on the families interviewed of second generations born in the U.S., first-generation immigrant parents' affiliation with the country of ancestors facilitated the growth of emotional ties to Haiti. All the members of the first generation, regardless of the number of years living in the U.S., do not consider the U.S. as home and still have nostalgia of their homeland. They often reported still feeling like outsiders in the U.S. As Jami noted, "When I am in Haiti, I feel at home." In fact, more than 30 people from the first generation and second generation C mentioned their plans to retire to their homeland. This resonance of being an outsider in the U.S. prompted them to teach their children (born in the U.S.) to keep ties with family members and encourage them to go to Haiti. For second generation A, the negative stereotypes of Haiti by the U.S. media influenced their view of the homeland. Many of them have a tendency to forget they were even born there and think of it as the country of their parents. As for the third generation born of the second generation C, a sense of love for Haiti was clearly observed. The members of the second generation C interviewed were all educated in Haiti and reunited with their parents in pursuit of their university degrees in the U.S. The level of education attained in Haiti had facilitated the second generation C to do a better transition of country identity with their children than second generation A. As for the children of second generation B, they mentioned exploring Haiti as a country of ancestors.

BELIEFS AND VALUES

In his seminal work *Assimilation in American life*, Gordon discussed the integration of immigrants into the cultural fabric of the U.S. He argued that descendants of immigrants needed some adjustments before being integrated into the core society,²² but this requires a move through the stage of acculturation. As Gordon argued, the stage was important for the Europeans coming from different cultural backgrounds because the assimilation would not be possible without the command of the English language. For immigrants of color, this assimilation seemed to reach from what Gordon referred to as structural assimilation “which has to do with the large scale entrance to cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society.” According to Gordon, the immigration history of the U.S. is based on prejudice and racial discrimination, which tend to be ameliorated with the second generation of the immigrants born in the U.S. Likely, this change occurs because English becomes their native language and they have access to the public school. However, for black-skinned immigrants, the process is not the same. That does not change the content of the boundaries that African Americans have faced for more than 300 years to assimilate into American society. An appeal to the values or traditional cultural beliefs became necessary for Haitian parents as strategies to prevent their children from being subjected to the negative stereotypes.

The interviews of members of the first generation and second generation C in the U.S. and their second generation A and B who are now parents of American children

²² Referring to Joshua Fishman, Gordon (1964) explained that the core society is “made up essentially of White Protestant, middle class clay, to which all other particles are attracted” (p. 72).

revealed that the second generation who arrived at an early age in the U.S. were more likely to perceive that they were acculturated in the mainstream society than second generation B and C and third generation.

F10D²³ consists of 4 members: Sergio, a 62-year-old husband, his 60-year-old wife Rosemead, their 25 year-old daughter Minder, and their 23-year-old son Junior. They were asked if some values were particularly Haitian.

Minder: Yes, there are a lot of values. I don't think they are specifically Haitian values. But I think the Haitians have certain of those values that they hold very dear to them. They have a deep sense of respect for other people. You know that growing up when you go to people's house, you have to greet everybody individually. Americans don't do that. This is a way to present you in front of the Haitian family. They have a deep sense of respect. They have a sense of pride in themselves. That's all that I can vow for. They have a sense of pride in everything. I am saying like I am not Haitian. They are proud people.

Rolande: *Is that included yourself?*

Minder: Yes, I do identify as Haitian because I was raised in the Haitian ways, not of the American ways.

Rolande: *Are there some values or beliefs that you think are particularly Haitian?*

Sergio: Oh yeah, like she said. I don't know if she has learned it. She may have other acquaintances that drive her. But we do believe in our Haitian values. However children here do not realize their parents would like to see them being somebody with big names. Our children in this country do not see the progressive way that we pursue for them. We believe in big names for our children.

Rolande: *Do you believe in big names through education or through money?*

Sergio: Of course, education, if you are educated everything will come. Education is the basis for everything. We believed for our children to become big

²³ F10D. The father, a first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is a paralegal. The mother, also a first generation A, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a medical assistant. The son, a second generation B who was born in the U.S., is a college student. The daughter, a second generation B who was born in the U.S., is a third-year law student.

in life. You may have a ton of money; but if you don't have education, you may not know how to handle it. For example, I have seen families with money when their fathers passed away, and everything went down because the children could not manage the money. Some kids here do not want to follow the trend. I believe that, as a father, you always have a torch to pass on, to keep the family going, even after you pass. I believe that, as a father, the head of the household, head of an organization, a CEO, a pastor etc. I think your first task in the job is to identify your replacement and begin to train him/her. For the family it's the same. As parents, you are obligated to train your children. However, it happens sometimes you want to pass the torch to your children and they don't give you the chance to do so because they have specific values for themselves.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Rosemead: About the same.

Rolande: *Are there any values or beliefs that you think are Haitian?*

Junior: I honestly think that Haitian culture is a lot more strict and rigid in its traditional values. I am not saying that in a negative way. I don't think it is truly adaptive to the time we are living in. I think that when they are saying education is everything. I don't think it's a magic ticket because you can have a high school diploma or college degree without a job. I think there should be a balance between education and normal life. I believe there are many ways you can be successful without a college degree. Beside a college degree, there are vocational schools in which you can become something other than being a doctor or lawyer. I think the Haitian parents do not look into all the alternatives they have in this country.

Minder: I think the Haitian culture itself is restricted in a sense that if you don't meet up to the expectations, then you're automatically a failure. That's what I feel.

Minder's comments are an example of how second generation B viewed values or beliefs for children of immigrants born in the U.S. Minder believed that Haitians have a great sense of respect and a sense of pride. At the same time, she felt that the weight of high expectations was sometimes problematic. On the other hand, her parents believed that education is the only viable way to integrate the core society. This understanding led to a conflict or, at least, a difference of opinion between the children and parents.

According to Junior, Haitian culture is too strict and rigid in its traditional values. His

parents believed if their children did not have schooling beyond the undergraduate level, it would be considered a defeat for the family.

Junior was born in the U.S. He attended school with peers who were not pressured to have higher degrees and, for him, his father's perception of education is limited. This family is a demonstration of the fact that, at times, the younger generations are more attracted to certain values of the host country than the "traditional," ethnic values. As Berry and Sabatier's (2011) study demonstrated, immigrant adolescents living in Montreal, Canada and Paris, France were more willing to live with the inheriting culture and identity and preferred having relations with others outside of their own crowd in becoming part of the larger society. It is important to say that both Minder and Junior adjusted to some traditions of American society without losing their parents' values. As second generation members born in the U.S., their responses confirmed Berry's study on second-generation immigrants, but it raised questions on both the old and the current assimilation theory framework.

With F4H,²⁴ it is apparent that there is a strong influence of family values and beliefs on the younger generations. This family consists of three generations: Kettle, who is in her 40s; her son Ken, who is 12; and her mother Emanate, who is 81. They said:

²⁴ F4H. The mother, a second generation C, is a licensed practical nurse. The son, a third Generation, is a 7th-grade student. The daughter, a third generation, is in 4th grade and could not participate. The grandmother, a first generation A, is retired.

Kettle: I believe we are different from the people here. We always try to raise our kids the same way we were raised back home and to guide them into the right path and show them this is the way to go and not to go. Those are our values: our understanding of things, even though we live in this country. But we are limited. No matter what, your birth certificate will show that you are Haitian American. The birth certificate will always say your parents were born in Haiti. So, we cannot drop our culture. We raised our children the same way we were raised back home.

Rolande: *Can you give me some other examples?*

Kettle: Spanking and respect. We also believe it is our responsibility to take care of our mothers and fathers when they are old.

Rolande: *Do you spank?*

Kettle: We spank in the love that we have for our children.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Ken: I get the same punishment as another kid would.

Rolande: *Do you think Haitian parents punish their children more?*

Ken: I don't know.

Rolande: *Do you think Haitian parents are strict?*

Ken: It depends on who you ask.

Kettle was born in Haiti. She is a member of the second generation C raised in Haiti, where the responsibility of disciplining the children is of parents and not of the state. Kettle's wording/terminology is revealing: namely, her referring to Americans as "them" and Haitians as "us." Kettle was very vehement in expressing her following her parents' footsteps in raising her children. Despite her U.S. citizenship, she refuses to surrender her children to mainstream culture; and, in fact, her citizenship certificate states that she is a Haitian American. To her, it is crucial to raise her children the same way she was raised because her cultural identity is an integral component of who she is. Kettle is aware of the necessity of keeping cultural heritage while raising her children in the U.S. For example, she refers to spanking as "back home" values, but according to the

Child Protective Services' (CPS) interpretation of the law, spanking is child abuse.

According to Alexander (2010), children of black and Mexican families are losing their children because of the interpretation of policies derived from the new Jim Crow laws.

Given the long history of CPS with black families, Kettle was very careful when discussing spanking as punishment. Her emphasis on the reason that Haitian parents spank is out of love for their children suggested that spanking can be dramatic and even involve CPS to take control over their children. The interpretation of the child abuse law changes the public perspective on punishment. If Ken, her son, told others that his parents spanked him, his parents might be subjected to imprisonment and the state might remove him from their care. In order to find out how Ken, a third generation, felt about being punished, he responded: "I get the same punishment as another kid would have." It is likely that he might be afraid to discuss his feelings openly.

In F2D,²⁵ Walt is 59 years old, his wife Antoinette is 54 years old, their son Antonio is 18 years old, and their two daughters Stacie and Amgen are in their twenties. Their responses to the question of values or beliefs are as follows:

Walt: Yes, I think so. In Haiti, we have to follow the principles and we must have respect for others. When I came here, the difference was so obvious between the culture back home and that of America. The way some parents raised their children in this country is the opposite of the way we raised our kids in Haiti.

Rolande: *So, when you came?*

²⁵ F2D. The father, a first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s, is retired from work due to illness. The mother, also a first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is a nursing assistant. The daughter, a second generation B, is an administrator. The second daughter, a second generation B, is a nurse. The son, a second generation B, is in the 12th grade in high school.

Walt: I kept the same principles that my parents taught me in Haiti. And my children who were all born in the U.S. were brought up the same way. We raised them to be strong, so they don't fail themselves in other places.

Rolande: *How do you see yourself?*

Stacie: Yes. As a Haitian American, me personally. If someone comes from Haiti and they are restricted from certain things and they come to America and they see freedom, then, because of that freedom they leave behind their culture because they are trying to impress others.

Amgen: We have freedom, but they discipline us very well.

Rolande: *Do you like being disciplined by your parents? Some children don't like that.*

Stacie: When we were younger, obviously we didn't like it. But now that we're older, we understand.

Rolande: *Do you see you Haitian culture as different?*

Antoinette: Banan Peze [fried plantains]. Griot [fried pork]. Pikliz [spicy coleslaw].

Stacie: I don't think so. I don't think the way we dress would differentiate us.

Antoinette: Yes, in the culture this is what is different. The way we cook, the way we dress and the way we act. If everyone would act like a Haitian, it would be such as a great thing.

Rolande: *Do you think Haitians in the U.S. keep their traditional values?*

Antoinette: Some of them. Sometimes, they lose their culture and they let American culture take over them.

Rolande: *What makes you think they let American culture take over them?*

Antoinette: Some parents took two jobs and forgot about their duties of raising the children. As we all know this country is hard, bills have to be paid. But with children, you have to always be asking for homework, you have to make sure that they are not watching TV all the time. You must do follow-up with teachers in the school. As a matter of fact, I did all those things with my girls. After I dropped them to school, I turned around and went back to the school to make sure they didn't skip school. Most of the time, I requested conferences with their teachers.

Stacie: She also went to find out who our friends are.

Rolande: *Did you really do that?*

Walt: Yes; I'm the one who always drives her.

Rolande: *Do you think what your parents were doing was great?*

Stacie: Yeah, I think so.

At its inception, the homeland cultural values helped the first-generation immigrants to successfully encounter prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. As a result, the children developed a strong sense of group identity. Antoinette believes that American culture is too liberal with children. In that sense, she thinks that some Haitian parents have let work take over the time that they need to raise their children. With strong ethnic values, a family where the children feel secure and its members spend time together, the younger generation would develop a greater sense of self worth as well as group identity. This is similar to Kettle's (F2D) and Sergio's (F10) associating their homeland values to their children's wellbeing to counteract the effects of discrimination in their life.

Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008) argued that the second-generation children of immigrants navigated between the parents' and the host country's culture. This navigation process creates generational conflicts among immigrant families. Stacie, the daughter of Walt, did not appreciate her parents' strict influence while growing up, but, in retrospect, she viewed it as meaningful. Further, she asserted that her parents' values contributed to the way she presents herself in society. In addition, Antoinette recalled that values are more than discipline; they include the language, the food, the dress, and mannerism. U.S.-born Amgen, the second daughter of Walt and Antoinette, also retained values from the homeland. Like Stacie, Amgen never visited Haiti.

Ann, a member of F8D revealed:

To us, this is really unfortunate. We feel sometimes that we don't really pass on the Haitian values to our children, the way we grew up with this sacred respect for the elderly or old people. Not only my children, the younger Haitian generation, they don't really 100% get the Haitian values. I feel also the system here has something to do with it.

Ann feels that U.S. structure contributed to parents' failure to pass Haitian respect of the elderly to the younger generations. Her response reflects the opinions of Antoinette and most of the first-generation parents who were interviewed. When specifically asked if there are some values or beliefs that she thinks are particularly Haitian, she replied:

In Haiti, even if you're 40 years old and you live with your parents, you're still considered a child. In this country ... yeah ... You tell your parents I'm going out; I am not coming in. What is that? You still live with your parents. You owe them respect. In Haiti, you can be 40 or 50 years old and you reside at your parents' home. But in this country, when you turn 21, you can get a drink to celebrate your birthday, and the children can call the police on you and they would be right. But in Haiti, when your child is 21, you can still discipline him/her for your respect. Here, once they have that drink, they're like, "I can call the police on you" [laughter]; but it's not totally that. I'm speaking in general because the U.S. culture supports kids to *tripe* [whistle] in front of your parents. They do it because they see everybody else doing it. Once you try to tell them, they say, "really? What is the problem?" I must also say I don't know if it is the American culture.

As stated in the earlier sections, many of the respondents indicated that the older generations of Haitians cultivate respect for others whereas the younger generations acculturate into U.S. culture, which, from a traditional Haitian view, does not value elders. The lack of respect for elders lead respondents to suggest that younger generations would call the police on their parents when they were being disciplined. This attitude shapes and compels Haitian parents to avoid unjust arrest. Furthermore, and most importantly, the fear of police distanced parents from children, and the

interpretation and application of the law can unintentionally create cultural changes within families. Gina (F2B) explains:

I have hardly seen Americans sticking with each other, but our family supports each other. And in Haiti, we can have a big house with grandmother, cousins, uncles or every generation living together. But America is totally different because for some parents, when their kids turn eighteen, they ask them to move out from the house—in contrast to the Haitian culture that support their children as long as they want.

First-generation respondents saw the U.S. culture changing the respect that children have for parents and parents have for children. This also eroded other values.

Rolex notes,

I think Haitian values evolve. What I knew when I was a child doesn't exist anymore as far as values when I lived in New York. I am who I am because of the values that were instilled in me by my mother and my father. We valued education. We wanted our kids to be respectful to us, which I instilled in my child just as my mother instilled in me. Looking at society now, the Haitians that migrate here, those values are gone. Education seems to no longer be a priority. They are killing each other in gangs. The Haitian culture transformed, unfortunately.

In Rolex's assessment, the rejection of the cultural attachment to the parents' home country can be devastating for the younger generations. Most of the respondents believed that American culture facilitates disobedience and misbehavior in the second- and third-generation children acculturated in mainstream society, which brings bad academic results, participating in gangs, and children leaving their home at an early age. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argued, the rebuff of the parents' home country values for those of mainstream society could create a downward assimilation for racialized immigrants. Instead of adjusting Haitian values to the core society, which would facilitate an upward assimilation, many of the respondents' comments can be interpreted

as akin to their entering the racial platform established for minority groups' failure (Feagin 2010).

Minder: I feel that a lot of the strictness was for a reason. I grew up and I'm the only girl in this family and I grew up here. And I think a lot of the things I have learned or how I was raised did help prevent me from a lot of situations that could've gone down. I've never done drugs, never been tempted, never been around it. I just never have. So there is a lot of ways I could've grown up. I could've been on a very different route, but I feel like a lot of the Haitian culture helped with that. I think there's a certain path you're supposed to be on; you can't deviate from it. I think that the role of older Haitians is to encourage or support.

Minder (F10D) asserts that family values are very important for immigrant children's success in the host country. Her comment confirms Gina's, Anna's, and Rolex's perceptions that the younger generations who hold onto their parents' strict discipline reinforce respect for elders and create positive outcomes. For many respondents, this discipline of children includes corporal punishment, known as spanking. In the U.S., the use of spanking is frowned upon and restricted. The perception is that the state is intervening in Haitian parental rights.

Education is a key element for the parents of younger generations of Haitians in the U.S. As the interviewees show, many of them feel pushed by their parents to pursue their education. The narrative expressed by the immigrant generation is that members of the younger generations who avoided Haitian cultural practices would experience downward mobility. This would happen because they no longer feared their parents: instead, their parents feared them. Even though the law was not intended to strip parents of their parental right to discipline, liberal Child Protective Services' interpretation and application of it served to do just that.

EXPERIENCES

Alba and Nee (2003) argued that the belief of assimilation separating immigrants and their children from American mainstream society is obsolete. Since 1960, they argued, changes made in the practice of law and Civil Rights legislation in relation to immigration laws facilitated a better setting for immigrants of color and their children than in the past, when the privileged immigrants were whites. However, the changes that immigration has made in the structure of American society call into question the principle immigrant access to full integration. In communities in transition, cultural behaviors due to difficulties encountered for acceptance into American society affect immigrant life and retard the development of these communities. As Marilyn Halter (1993) argued in *Between Race and Ethnicity*, having immigrants of color with those who emigrated from Europe represent a big challenge for the assimilation theories where racial minorities have been included by analogy only.²⁶ That is, researchers could not speak about immigration without speaking about issues of race and ethnicity.

Table 7 presents the findings on the experiences with teachers and schools, police, and medical doctors and practitioners for the 31 families interviewed. The study

²⁶ Two first generation Haitian immigrants arrived in the U.S. The first ones were people of wealth, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals. These transplants were initially established in the northern part of the U.S. The second group consisted of rich farmers, poor farmers, and other people. Over time, the two groups have scattered in other states. However, the parents who moved from the Northern region do not appear to experience the extremity of prejudice that the parents settled in Florida have experienced; and, as such, their views on integration into mainstream American society were different.

reveals that 22 out of 110 people reported having had problems with school: 0 for the first generation, 7 for second generation A, 3 for second generation B, 3 for second generation C, and 9 for the third generation. The disparities among the generations related to experiences in schools or with teachers are obvious. The first-generation immigrants assisted their families in settlement. They went to bilingual programs, which allowed them the time to get involved in the day-to-day life of their children. Those who settled in New York prior to Florida reported that their children born in New York experienced less prejudice in the Florida schools than those whose parents landed directly in Florida. Further, when those children moved to Florida, they were more equipped to handle the prejudice of the teachers and students because they came from a state with integrated schools that contained a mixture of all types of immigrants. The 22 people from the younger generations who reported having problems in the school encountered different dilemmas: some were having problems with their accent, with last names, color, and ethnicity.

As for the generations who reported not having problems, they were avoiding the dilemmas in school by sending their children to private or Catholic school. The interview data also reveals that 6 out of 110 respondents had problems with the police: 1 from the first generation, 1 from second generation A, 1 from second generation B, 1 from second generation C, and 2 from the third generation. Among those 6 people, only one person reported being stopped for speeding. Most of the provocations from the police related to stereotypes relating to blacks. For example, Rolex from F9B said: “I have been blessed, nothing at all—which I know is rare for a young black male, but

nothing where I was profiled. No acts of violence towards me, so I've been fortunate.”

Most of the remaining 104 respondents claimed that they never had any interaction with police, but their fear of the police would keep them from calling on them in time of danger. In regard to this matter, Rod from F9B explained:

Well, you know, it was mostly political because the police here [Miami] ... if I called them [it] would do violence to the center. I feel like even if I did call the police, they would use that as an excuse to get involved in my business, so I stay away. When they stop, I stop, I smile, and I am very nice.

Furthermore, of the 110 respondents on the issue of medical doctors or practitioners, only 2 people from the first generation and 1 from second generation C had confronted problems with doctors, while the remaining 107 respondents reported no problem at all. This mostly occurred because they go to their own ethnic networks for medical needs.

Table 7: Problems Experienced with Institutions

Generation Institution	1 st	2 nd A	2 nd B	2 nd C	3rd	4th	Total
Police	1	1	1	1	2	0	6
School	0	7	3	3	9	0	22
Health Care	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Total	3	9	4	4	11	0	31

F1D²⁷ consists of 4 people. Claus is 63 years old. Guerilla, his wife, is 46 years old, and their daughter Shoaling is 18 years old. Anis, the mother of Guerilla, is 72 years old.

Guerilla: No, I have not lived that experience. On the contrary, I could say that my child, who was born here, she is now 18 and goes to a mostly white school. I often ask her: “Is there racism in your school?” She answers, “not really; you have to be intelligent to acknowledge it.” I taught my daughter not to look at skin color: instead, look at the person’s behavior. The person’s behavior and character are more important than the skin color.

Rolande: *What about you, sir?*

Claus: I have three children—two were born in Haiti, and one was born here. All three of them went into good professions. They have never experienced racism. They went to a Catholic school, and everything went smoothly. I used to like the school. Do you want to know why I disliked the school? I didn’t like it because the school used to make the children sell cookies. I removed them from the school and sent them to a school farther from our home.

Rolande: *Was selling cookies for the school part of your culture?*

Claus: It was a burden for the kids to force people to buy their stuff. This is done here, but I never liked it. We don’t have this custom at home. That’s why I removed her from the school. I put her in a different school.

Rolande: *Well, do you have any issues with doctors?*

Claus: I spent most of my life in the hands of physicians. I had a stroke.

Rolande: *But did you go to Haitian doctors or others?*

Claus: I was in Jackson Hospital in Miami. They have doctors of different nationalities.

Rolande: *Do you usually go to the medical clinic?*

Guerilla: The clinic I go to is managed by foreigners.

Rolande: *But your medical doctor?*

Guerilla: Yes, I see a medical doctor who is Haitian.

²⁷ F1D. The father, a first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is retired from work due to illness. The mother, a first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1991, is a hair stylist. The maternal grandmother, a first generation B, arrived in the U.S. 2 years ago and is retired. The daughter, a second generation B who was born in the U.S., is in the 12th grade.

Rolande: *Is your family doctor Haitian?*

Claus: Yes.

Rolande: *What have been your experiences with the teachers and schools?*

Shoaling: No problem!

Rolande: *With the police?*

Shoaling: No problem!

Shoaling was born and raised in Miami. She explained that she had never experienced any problem with schools or teachers. Both Shoaling's parents landed in Miami: Claus immigrated to the U.S. in 1980, after the death of his first wife, went to Haiti and married Guerilla. In 1991, Guerilla came to Miami to join her husband. Prior to Miami, Guerilla used to come to New York on vacation. Guerilla is a first-generation immigrant to the U.S. She was born and raised in Haiti. Guerilla explained that her daughter does not experience racism because she taught her not to look at the skin color, but, instead, look at the person's behavior. Claus, on the other hand, sent his first children to Catholic school to avoid the racial tension of public school.

The first generation of Haitian immigrants who arrived in Miami during the 1980s on small boats that often shipwrecked on the open seas had evoked discriminatory reactions and prejudice against Haitian children (Laguerre 1984; Waters 2001; Zephir 2004; Stepick 1998). The experiences of those children may have influenced Claus' choice of sending his first children from his previous marriage to a Catholic school. Thus, for Claus, the public school represents a place loaded with blatant discrimination and prejudice that could retard the younger generation in their education. Guerilla sent her daughter to a predominantly white public school where the Caribbean middle-class

children were among the highest performing students. Overall, this family reported not having bad experiences with school, police, medical doctors or practitioners.

F10H²⁸ consists of 3 people from 3 different generations: Codetta, the mother and grandmother, is 65 years old; Shellac is 40 years old and the daughter of Codetta and mother of Claudine, who is 12 years old. They responded as follows:

Rolande: *What have been your experiences with the teachers and schools in the United States?*

Rolande: *Did you also go to school here?*

Shellac: Yes

Rolande: *What have been your experiences?*

Shellac: How the teacher works with kids? What is the difference between schools in Haiti and over here? How they work? The schools are doing a good job. I don't have any complaints about it.

Rolande: *What have been your experiences with school?*

Shellac: Sometimes they do, like especially for the public schools. They always call the kids to ask them like questions about the families and how they behave with them. For me, that is discrimination. I don't like when the teachers call parents for the kids, and if the parents beat them and the kids go to school. And they ask kids about the families, trying to get the kids to talk about family and find things on the kids and call the police on them. I don't like that.

Claudine: Yes.

Rolande: *With police?*

Shellac: For them, I don't have that problem. I put them in private school, the Catholic school. I know the public school.

Rolande: *Is the police the reason you chose the private school?*

²⁸ F10H. The mother, a first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is retired. The daughter, a second generation C, is a nurse. The granddaughter, a third generation, is in the 6th grade.

Shellac: Yes, this is the reason that I chose private school and I was in private school in my country. So I just kept the same way.

Shellac is a second generation C. She was born and raised in Haiti. She immigrated to the U.S. after high school (secondary school for Haiti) to join her mother. In Haiti, Codetta was a seamstress, and she moved to the U.S. to support her family back home and her daughter's education. In the U.S., Codetta has never had the opportunity to go to a normal school besides a community program for immigrants to learn how to speak English. She sacrificed herself to make sure that her daughter would do better than her. In fact, Shellac went to university and became a nurse. Shellac asserted that the interference of the police in the school system influenced her to send her children to Catholic School.

Tatum (2005) revealed that many teachers have little hope for their black students. Schools in primarily white communities generally have better environments, better qualified teachers, and more educational resources, all of which are lacking in many schools where blacks and people of color are in majority. The findings from this research underline how many Haitian parents are trying to escape racial prejudices in the educational system by sending their children to Catholic schools or schools with high concentrations of whites and where educational resources are available. F7D²⁹ is composed of Nanina, who is 51 years old; her 27-year-old daughter Jalap; and her 21-year-old stepdaughter Dahlia. They responded as follows:

²⁹ F7D. The mother, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is a nurse as well as a single mother. The daughter, a second generation A, is a lawyer. The stepdaughter, a second generation A, is a first-year medical student.

Rolande: *What have been your experiences with the following groups in the United States? Teachers and Schools?*

Dahlia: I think if they see you can't speak English, they sometimes try helping. But if they see you cannot speak a certain language, they don't bother helping you. They say you will learn by yourself. You will pick it up.

Rolande: *Are you saying there is no prejudice?*

Dahlia: Yeah, in elementary school growing up.

Jalap: I remember specifically when I was in third grade or something ... the teacher had to write something for each student like what they thought of the student the moment they saw them. At the end of the class, they had to write what they thought. The teacher had all of them on her desk. Somehow I was able to see mine. I saw her first impression on me that I was going to be "black," "bad." Many years later I still did not forget about it. But at the end, it was positive.

Rolande: *Can you give examples of different interactions within your family with police or medical doctors or practitioners?*

Nanina: When I was working in Dade County, I did not encounter that much problems because I worked with people who spoke multiple languages like me. However, when I moved 4 years ago to work in Broward County, mostly in Fort Lauderdale, where they have more English speaking people and Jewish people, I remembered a particular doctor. Every time that I called for something important, he picked up the phone and asked to put someone who speaks English on the phone. When he came to the floor, I waited for him to finish looking at an X-ray and talked to him. I let him know that he speaks only English. As for me, I speak English, French, Spanish and Creole. My daughter came here when she was 5 years old. She speaks perfect English, perfect French, and Spanish. I told you all this in order for you to know that I will always have an accent. It is you that has to make effort to understand me. After that, he apologized. You have to speak; otherwise, people will let you know that you are black or you have an accent: that you don't belong here.

Dahlia is a second generation A. Her father came to the United States before her mother died in Haiti and landed in Miami. In Haiti, her father was a doctor, and he married Nanina when Dahlia was 18 years old. Nanina is a second generation C. She moved from Canada to the United States to join her father in New York and moved to Miami a short time later. She went to nursing school in Canada. Now, in the United States, she is working as a nurse. She immigrated with her daughter Jalap, a second generation A.

Both Jalap and Dahlia did their schooling in the U.S. Dahlia remembered her elementary school experience where her teacher would help an ESL (English as a Second Language) student only if that student would not speak another language in the class. Otherwise she said the student would be on her or his own.

In addition to Dahlia's statement, Jalap pointed out her personal experiences with a teacher in third grade whose first impression of her was based on negative stereotypes related to blacks. She recalled the prejudice against her, but her narrative about this was that this made her work harder in school. She went to Harvard University and is now a lawyer. In comparison to Jalap and Dahlia, Nanina, a second generation C who entered the U.S. as a professional, was more likely to have experiences with medical doctors or practitioners. A doctor in Broward County refused to communicate a prescription to her because he heard an accent. Nanina described how she used an argument that the doctor would have to acknowledge—her knowledge of many languages versus his knowledge of just one. Both of these stories feature resistance to stereotypes as their focus. Additionally, they are truly heroic stories because they both involve standing up to those who have higher status: the medical doctor and the teacher.

The statements provided by Jada, Dahlia, and Nanina confirm that language and color are still considered factors within the younger generations and, at times, prevent assimilation into the host country. Meme from F2H explained that her son Phil was given a test on the first day of school and did not do well. The same week, she went to meet with the teacher, who said to her: "He is not doing well in the class. I don't know

how he got to this class. I am not sure if it is with the previous school or if it is with the English language. He's not going to make it." Meme interprets this response:

To me, she saw the last name. She saw the dark skin color—as you can see, Phil is very dark, and when he gets in the sun, he's even darker. (He knew that since he was six years old; he called himself dark and lovely.) Anyway, that was the first week of the school. I shut down because I do not have time for ignorance and stupidity. I don't mind ignorant because we cannot have all the knowledge, but stupidity—I do not have time for that. Finally, I didn't say a word because I know I would not be able to talk to her calmly; I let it go. The difference between Phil and myself, I was taught pride in Haiti. The way I was in high school. If a teacher had a bad impression of me, I am going to show you that I will pass your class with the highest grade. That was me in high school. My son is an American and I am Haitian.

Meme's statement presents an account of how color, language, and name lead to discrimination in the school system, which is deeply rooted in the institutional structure of the United States. Both Phil's parents are professional second-generation immigrants who graduated in the U.S. His mother attended elementary school to college in New York and barely speaks the ethnic languages. Since the teacher was unaware of those factors, she was working in the context of a racial frame that automatically connected Phil to substandard performance.

Phil: There are handfults that see the skin color and think that "he is not going to succeed; he is a joke." But more often enough, my teachers come to me with the sense that I could succeed in the classes whether they expect me to or not. This did not happen in every class. I obviously struggle. Who doesn't? Everyone does. Besides, I am an "A" student. I usually excel in my classes. I don't do it in spite of my skin color; I do it for me because this is who I am.

Because both generations are subject to the same types of stereotypes that lead to prejudice and discrimination, language can provoke both negative and positive reactions

for both older and younger generations. F1H³⁰ consists of 3 generations. Junta is 40 years old, her husband Greg is 44 years old, their son Ash is 12 years old, and their two daughters Arbela and Ashland are 18 and 20, respectively. Roulette, the grandmother, is 80 years old. Their responses to the question on experiences with teachers and schools, with police, and with medical doctors and practitioners are as follows:

Rolande: *What have been your experiences with the following groups in the U.S.? Teachers and schools? Can you give some examples within family?*

Junta: When I go to school at the university I am at now and they hear and accent ... “Oh, where you’re from? Haiti?” “Oh you’re from Haiti?” And, I’m like, “Yeah... What’s the problem?” So yeah, that’s the kind of reaction I get and they actually think as far as you are Haitian, you can’t make certain grades like others. I’ve seen that, and I prove them wrong.

Greg: I never had any problems when I was in school.

Arbela: My teachers are very nice to me just because I’m a good student and they are very lenient towards me and not really towards other students.

Ash: My teachers are nice. They want to know more about me, which is interesting. My French teacher.

Rolande: *Your French teacher?*

Ashland: Yeah, I had a French teacher in high school.

Rolande: *Is it because you speak French?*

Ashland: No, I told her my parents were from Haiti and she just wanted to know more about the culture, I guess.

Junta is a second generation A who immigrated to New York when she was 10 years old. She grew up in New York, where she earned a degree in Physical Therapy. She moved to Florida 3 years ago with all the family. Now, Junta is completing her Master’s degree at the University of South Florida in Tampa. According to her, her

³⁰ F1H. The father, a second generation A, is a computer technician. The mother, a second generation A, is a physical therapist. The grandmother, a first generation C, is a retired widow. The first daughter, a third generation, is a junior in college. The second daughter, who is a senior in high school, is also a third generation. The son, a third generation, is in the 7th grade.

professors expect of her to do badly because she is Haitian, but she described herself as not intimidated by the negative stereotypes associated with Haitians. When asked how her experiences in Florida compare to New York, she responded: “The South is totally opposite. Their thinking is backward. I loved New York. It is like you got all types there. I don’t know for me, I enjoyed being in New York.” Junta believes that the multiethnic aspect of New York played a major role in making immigrants feel at home. Her husband Greg also immigrated to New York at the age of 10, and recalled no problems when he was in school. Their children were born in New York (and are also third generation). They are now in school in Tampa. Their response to the question suggests that children born and partly raised in New York have a different approach to the issue of experiences in school from those born and raised in Florida.

While experiences with schools or teachers are varied between younger generations born or raised in Florida and New York, there is a consensus in their attitude toward the police force as well as their decision towards their medical needs.

Rod: Let me start with teachers. I was thinking of that. There really weren’t any problems, but none of them really inspired me to be great. I didn’t feel like I belonged and I don’t think the teachers saw me as having any potential. I think it was because of the race factor. My affection for my students is way different from other professors who are not from the same race and neighborhood. I wish I would have gotten that affection. I was much of a loner because I felt like I didn’t belong.

Nay: The perception we had for him and how I saw it ... I truly felt it was our responsibility to shape him and mold him into how he is today. It was not because of the teachers or the neighborhood. I used to tell him it’s great to have friends but I’m not sending you to make friends. I’m sending you to get an education.

I had a great experience and I think I was in the sixth grade. ... When I returned to this country, the fact that I didn’t speak English ... it was very difficult for me. I remember they had a teacher who supposedly spoke French, but didn’t speak a word of French. I was lost; I really didn’t know where I was or

what I was doing. I will also express the fact that my mother was practically the head of the household; my father never quite adjusted to this country. He couldn't because of people giving him hardships and on top of that there were people that were ignorant while he was an educated man. There were always these issues that were going on, and I remember acting up a lot in class. I was a troublemaker. It was my way of getting attention; it was my way of coping with whatever. It wasn't until I got to the sixth grade that a teacher said to me, "I know there's so much more to you. I know you're a smart girl. I know you're putting on an act; so, you know, let's find out how we can make this better." And from that moment on, things changed. So that was a very good, positive experience for me, and I don't remember having a teacher that was that encouraging. But I basically took off from there. I decided that he was right I can't do this and I would do myself a disservice.

Rolex: I don't think I had experience with teachers. I know one person that helped me in the situation when I was in New York was during segregation and I lived in Brooklyn. I went to a school that was in Queens. When I got there, I didn't speak the language and I had to speak English. So they decided to place me in wood shop classes. I had no skills when it came to using my hands, I was going to find out, but there was a teacher who spoke French and I went to her and I said, "What is this? Is that what they do in America?" I got so mad that I insisted they take me to a principal and they said, "He wants to do something else," and he said, "no." And I said, "yes." So, finally, he did give me an opportunity to prove myself. He gave me a chance and if I succeeded, I can continue, and if not, I go back to the wood shop. They told me, "What classes did you take?" So, I chose stuff that I knew. I took in French; I took geography. I took classes I knew I could do with my eyes closed, and, so, I passed. And that's how I got to be able to go to college.

The experience that Rod had in Miami was totally different from his parents. In this debate, Nay explained that Rod became successful because both parents are educated. They were involved in his education because, to them, the success of the children is a gain for the parents. Rolex explained that he went to school in New York, but he resisted the initial placement. This is contrary to Rod, who felt very left out when he was in school. This kind of report, being stereotyped and discouraged on the first day of class, was relatively common. Nevertheless, there were also stories of encouragement from some teachers. Nay's receiving of a teacher's special attention and encouragement

helped to build her confidence and inspire a drive to succeed. As noted earlier, children born in New York or born of parents who grew up in New York seemed have better experiences with teachers and/or school than those landed or born in Miami.

Rolex noted that New York might have been more hospitable, but also the New York immigrants may have been from more middle-class backgrounds than those who came in through Miami.

Haitians living in New York, first of all, came from a more middle-class background with middle-class values, as far as the income is considered, as far as getting an education. The Haitians that are here (in Florida) are from a peasant background, not familiar with the school system here. It took a lot more effort for their kids to make it to go to school to struggle and so on. They are not as successful as those in New York when it comes to education and financial tuition.

Rolex credited the success of the younger generation born in New York to the older generation's middle-class values from the home country. Many of the respondents made the point that in Florida, Haitians are referred to as "boat people." Rolex's remark presents an issue of prejudice in two different groups of Haitian immigrants in the U.S. That occurs because the two states differ in their perception of Haitian immigrants. Because they had more resources, many of the Haitian immigrants who moved to New York stood against the use of negative stereotyping and integrated into the school regardless of the teachers' expectation. Those in Florida were more likely to "hide" their Haitian identity.

When asked about experiences with the police, Rolex explains:

My first experience with the police (was when) I was in Manhattan. It was primarily white. My friends and I were just talking and suddenly there was an invasion of policemen. Hands up and everything ... They searched us and whatever. And it's still not clear to me why they did that. ... They claimed they

were looking for people but since then, I have a fear of police. I've always been cautious of the police. Even when I came to Miami, there were a lot of incidents where I should've called the police but I didn't.

While many respondents believed their experiences with teachers varied from New York to Florida, their experiences with police were the same in both states. While actual experiences with the police were not common, fear of police was very common. In the excerpt below, Man discusses his experience with the police.

Man: I was in Miami Beach. On my way home next to a restaurant, I saw many police cars around. Then I said to myself, there might be a crime at this scene and continued on my way to home. When I got home, I had to go out again, getting medication for my wife. I went to Eckerd Pharmacy to get it for her. On my way going to Eckerd, I looked at the mirror in my car; I saw the police cars right behind me. Since I had not done anything wrong, I did not pay attention to the police. After I pulled over, the police got out of the car and yelled: "Stay in your car. Don't talk!" I said, "Officer, what is the problem? What's going on?" He said, "No, get out of the car," "don't talk," "raise your hands," "put your hands on the car," and "open up your legs." He then searched me. Everybody was looking at me as if I was a bad person; of course, I am black. He checked my license and called somewhere or someone. He had nothing on me and let me go. I learned later on that he stopped me because I had a t-shirt on. Soon after that, a woman came up to me and said she can't believe it that you look like the robber. His t-shirt looks like yours, but he had a tattoo. This is the only reason you didn't go to jail today.

Rolande: *Do you think this had happened to you because you're a black man?*

Man: Yes.

Rolande: *Do you think if you were white this would not happen to you?*

Lea: Yes, I think so. ...It happens all the time at my school...

Man: It happens all the time at your school?

Ralf: Yes.

Man: It happens to you?

Ralf: It happens that police came around and told me that I fit the description of somebody. I said to the police: is it because I'm black? They took my ID and took the name of another person that fit the description. I'm black; that happens most of the time to us. In different settings, I have had people stop me ... like in the store.

The police institution enables the connection between blackness and crime. As Lea stated, it happens to her all the time in school. This attitude restricted many members of the older and younger generations from assimilating. In addition, Man was not aware that his son Ralf was facing the same type stereotype. Ralf was also mistaken for someone else who was described as black.

Likewise, Abe from F4B says:

The police are a different story. I always felt that the police was always harder on the black neighborhoods. Stuff that my parents don't even know. You would be walking at lunchtime and they would stop you to check your bags. ... But now, I know it was illegal—a 4th amendment violation. I remember walking home from football practice, a cop would pull up next to us: “Hey, where are you guys going? What are you up to? Selling drugs?” And we would just be walking home. They checked your book bag and checked your pockets. It was just like a normal thing in that neighborhood. So, I think, the relationship between the young Haitian community and the police has never been good in that neighborhood and it stays that way because of that. Personally, my view of the police didn't change until I was an intern in the prosecutor's office in Detroit. As a prosecutor, you are working with the cops. I started speaking to them and kind of humanizing them a little bit. ... Well, back to the story—my parents don't even know stuff like that happened in North Miami Beach. Because my mom and dad, they always told me to stay out of trouble. If something like that happened, I would not even say anything to them because I would not let them think that I was getting myself into some kind of trouble. It is news to them, I guess.

The respondents illustrate the difficulty that Haitian immigrants have faced. The experiences with school, the police, and medical doctors or practitioners were important factors in looking at this process. The findings with the school experiences are varied although there is a common report that the older generation sent their children to Catholic or private schools to avoid prejudice and racial discrimination. Respondents who lived in New York before moving to Florida seemed to support the idea that younger generations are more equipped to fight stereotypes related to Haitian identity.

Contrary to this, respondents born of parents who landed or were born in Florida had more stories of how racial discrimination influenced their experiences. They distanced themselves from being Haitian to avoid being stereotyped as boat people.

While experiences with schools or teachers are varied, there is a general consensus with older and younger generations about their experiences with police. The findings reveal that all the generations fear the police; and while there is not much interaction, there were definitely experiences with racial profiling. As for medical doctors, in general, the older generations, along with their children, receive their medical services from the community doctors.

Respondents from four generations in this study revealed the persistence of racial inequalities. These inequalities undoubtedly surfaced because they were either born to immigrants of dark skin color or are dark-skinned immigrants in a country where the color of skin color is linked to assimilation. The straight-line assimilation that is possible for white immigrants upon learning English is not available for darker-skinned (black) immigrants. Furthermore, segmented assimilation, in all three forms, cannot take place without considering the immigrants' and their children's place of residence, cultural values, and experiences.

CHAPTER VI

CROSS-GENERATIONAL HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE RACIAL DILEMMA OF THE UNITED STATES

OVERVIEW

Many studies have shown that race and ethnicity have historically played a vital role in the structure of American society (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Bryce-Laporte 1972; Fontaine 1976; Laguerre 1984; Alba 1985; Lieberman and Waters 1988; Gans 1992; Zephir 1996; Massey 1999; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Feagin 2010). However, this central role does not always question the principle of all immigrants' access to full integration. American society is a resulting composite of Anglo-Americans of various European backgrounds transplanted in the geographical space of the U.S. Initially, the indigenous people, referred to as Native Americans, were treated as savages, dispossessed of their land, and later moved into reservations. Later, Africans were introduced into society as slaves. The relationship that exists between Anglo-Americans and these different groups has always been one of the dominance.

Feagin (2010) developed the concept of white racial frame to explain the tools and strategies that have been used by the white elite males to sustain the dominance. To more deeply implant this dominance and preserve the interests of the white Anglo-Saxon, they put in place a process of racialization where white ethnicity would become and remain the norm. This white racial framing allows the European immigrants from a

non-Anglo background to conform to Anglo-Saxon elites to fully integrate in the country (Gordon 1964). Although “white” was the dictum for integration, many argue that the Irish went through the racialization process. Unlike the Irish immigrants, the racialization for people of color, especially black immigrants, is detrimental, pervasive, and remains difficult to uproot (Cobas et al. 2009). Early in its existence, the white racial frame became the unspoken mantra of the racialized society of the United States. This framing involved a structure that encloses the basic principles of liberty and justice for the in-group immigrants, known as “white immigrants,” due to the fact that racialization has prioritized this group over the out-group immigrants, known as “immigrant of color.” (Deaux 2000). This has created a “liberty and justice” framing for white immigrants only and sets the tone for racial discrimination.

In this chapter, I consider the role that the U.S. racial dilemma plays in the lives of Haitian immigrants and their descendants. The principal argument of this chapter is that racialization reinforces racial prejudice within a wide racist framing of U.S. society (Feagin 2010). To resist racist practices, first-generation Haitian immigrants developed communities to encourage group identity with the larger Haitian community. This process of group membership lessens the effects of racial problems for the second generation. To explore the impact of the racial dilemma on generational Haitian immigrants, two sections examine the implications of the racialization that have been long secured in a white racial frame. The first section examines the way race affects different generations of Haitian immigrants living in the U.S. The second section focuses

on the how individuals' sense of racial discrimination is affected by Haiti's relationship with the U.S.

THE EFFECTS OF RACE IN A FAMILY OF CROSS-GENERATIONAL IMMIGRANTS

Lopez (2006) argues that people use two different meanings for "race": one view sees race as biological and the other as socially and legally constructed. Omi and Winant (1994) looked at social, historical, and political factors that affect the concept of race in America. They argue that groups and the definition of race are given in terms of the social allocation and historical framework in which they are entrenched. Haitian immigrants view race in various ways. For example, F3D³¹ consists of two people: Marian, 51, who is mother to daughter Chula, 18.

Rolande: *How do you think of Haiti?*

Chula: I love it. I like being a black Haitian. If you see someone who was born in the U.S. with no other prospect of having to go somewhere else ... but, for me, I have another reference. I love being Haitian because it makes me different from everyone else.

Rolande: *Did you know that you were black prior coming to this country?*

Marian: I see myself as a person, not as someone of color or where I'm from.

Rolande: *Did you learn that in Haiti?*

Marian: Yes, my mother is a very bright and smart woman. She raised me in a way for me to always know who I am because, in Haiti, we don't have racism. All of us are blacks. Before I came to the U.S., she gave me a lecture. She said: "You are going to America. You are going to a white country. Do not let that

³¹ F3D. The mother, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is a single mother with two daughters who works as a medical assistant. The daughter, a third generation, is a senior in high school. The oldest daughter is a college student and was not available to participate.

affect you. You are black. You should always be proud and thanking God for making you a black woman.”

Rolande: *Do you think for Haitians black is beautiful?*

Chula: I like being black.

Rolande: *Is it the way your mom raised you?*

Chula: Yes, black people are beautiful. We have different shapes of black people. There is a variety of blacks. We even have people who look white who are blacks.

Chula’s comments reinforce the definition that assumes that race is socially constructed.

Chula is a third generation. Her mother is a second generation who left Haiti after her high school education. Chula’s comments seem strongly affected by the Haitian perception of race. For her, her race is a combination of the U.S. interpretation of race and ethnicity. Marian was born in a country where everybody was considered black regardless of the skin color. In fact, Marian explained that her mother told her before she immigrated to the U.S. that she has to always remember that she is black and be thankful for it. For Chula, the “black Haitian” is a way to avoid the racial dilemma of the U.S.

My respondents’ accounts of race indicted that country of origin is a significant aspect of their views. F5H³² consists of 4 people: father Patricio, 45; mother Juliana, 47; daughter Christiana, 17; and son Olivewood, 13.

Rolande: *How do you think of your race?*

Juliana: I love it.

Rolande: *How do you think your race affects you living in the US?*

Juliana: It puts you apart because from what other people see. From my point of view, it doesn’t matter because I love who I am. But as part of it sometimes

³² F5H. The father, a second generation C, is a physical therapist. The mother, a second generation C, is a nurse. The daughter, a third generation who was born in the U.S., is in the 12th grade. The son, a third generation, is an 8th grader.

people judge you just by the color of your skin and because you have an accent from somewhere else. They label you, but it doesn't bother me.

Rolande: *If you go to Haiti, do you think race is viewed differently in Haiti than in the United States?*

Juliana: Yes, because in Haiti we are all Haitians and we mingled together so there's no difference. Over here it seems there is a preference: when you are light-skinned, they presupposed that you cannot be Haitian. In Haiti, color is not a determinant to be identified as Haitians.

Rolande: *How do you think of your race?*

Patricio: I love who I am.

Rolande: *If you go to Haiti, do you think race is viewed in a different way than the US?*

Patricio: Well in Haiti we are like one community: that's about it. We are all Haitians and even other people from other countries, like the missionaries, they always want to be one of us because of the way we are. They feel so much at home before they leave the country. When they get on the plane, they say "thank you Jesus" [in Creole] because of the way we embraced them as one community.

Rolande: *How do you think of your race?*

Christiana: I love it even though people are judging and have prejudice and stuff. But it doesn't bother me because I know who I am and that's all that matters.

Rolande: *What about you?*

Olivewood: It is fantastic.

Although there are generational differences between the younger and the older, they have in common their cultural heritage and the community. In this case, the older generation was able to pass love and identification with Haiti to the younger generation. Patricio, a second generation C, developed a strong sense of patriotism that allowed him to view the concept of race outside the framework of the U.S. As they all mentioned, they believed that Haitians' concept of race was much different from that in the U.S. The U.S. conception of race can provoke division among the same ethnic group and same family. Juliana, a second generation C, came to the U.S. after high school and went to

nursing school. Her education in both Haiti and the U.S. coupled her with a strong confidence to manage the racial tension through her cultural upbringings.

Stepick (1998) outlines the inherent contradictions within U.S. immigration policy to question the classification of the Cuban as political refugees and the Haitians as immigrants. His work exposes race as an issue. Because Juliana and Patricio are aware of the white frame, they were able to address the issues in terms of their home country. This, in turn, helped to decrease the power of the frame. For the children of immigrants, the acceptance of their parents' cultural heritage helps balance some of the negative stereotypes associated with many racist behaviors.

Although Chula's response to the race question was influenced by her mother's country of birth, Christiana's and Olivewood's answers were contextual, denoting the importance of the physical environment.

Such a conception of race was not always the same.

Abe: My race ... black as far as that goes, we are all from Africa. We'll share the same pigment in the sun. Any time that topic of race comes, I always think of Africa, not Haiti, but Africa. Of course, Haiti is the nationality, but the African blood comes to mind.

Unlike the previous families, Abe believes that race consists of different physical structures and skin color. This definition contradicts the view that defines race as socially constructed. The response to the race question by Abe demonstrates that he believes that blacks have African blood and Haiti is the nationality. Abe was asked how he thinks his race affects him living in the U.S. Furthermore, he was also asked to explain the difference between perceptions of race in Haiti and in the U.S.

Abe: I think it affects me greatly. Although I begin by saying that I am Haitian American, this is where my path with African Americans will cross because I am benefiting from the hard work of the Civil Rights Movement. I am benefiting from the works of the freedom riders, from the works of Malcolm X, from the works of Martin Luther King, Jr., and all those people. Without their work, I could not possibly be here. I could not possibly take advantages of everything that is going on. At the end of the day, when someone of a different race sees me, they see a black man, not a Haitian man. I always like to keep in mind to remind me that there is not much difference between myself and black Americans. But I do like to preserve my nationality at the same time.

Waters (2001) argued that Caribbean blacks took on their national identity with a strong attachment to their African cultural heritage, which allowed them to lessen the effects of the negative stereotypes associated with black Americans. Abe communicated a strong sentiment for his nationality but he also was keenly aware that others see him in terms of race rather than ethnicity. However, the older generation does not seem to take on the pressure of having to disassociate or associate with ethnic identity. Abe's father, Jet, a first generation who immigrated to the U.S. as an adult, notes:

I know that I am Haitian. In Haiti we didn't have the problem of race with the only distinction if you have light skin they will call you "*blanc*" [white] and they also see people with other nationalities as "*blanc*." In my area, there was a light-skinned family. They called them "*blanc*" mostly because they were the only light family.

Abe: We don't have that problem where I came from because we all know that we are Haitians; therefore, we are all blacks. In my area, I think there are some people who feel superior because of they are light skinned. But all of us are Haitians.

Findings from this research reveal that the younger generations' children of Haitian immigrants face and perceive more conflict than their parents because they are faced with U.S. definitions. The following interview with F6D defines the Haitian concept of race:

Jeb: In Haiti, I was brought up in an environment where people's skin color was not important. Because everybody in Haiti when I was growing up was called "*neg la*" whether you're light or dark skinned.

Cary: People's skin color was not important

Rolande: *Can you translate "neg la" for me?*

Jeb: "*Neg la*" means the "black man," "the Negroes." You were called that regardless of your skin color. However, if you're a foreigner in Haiti, whether you are white or black, they called you "*blanc*," the white man. You would be also called "*blanc*" when you speak another language. Just to say in Haiti the difference was not based on the color of your skin; it was, instead, the language that you speak.

Rolande: *What does that mean to be black in Haiti?*

Jeb: The fact that Haitians identified themselves with the heroes of the independence, they feel that they are Dessalines and Dessalines to them was a very great man. They think of themselves like Toussaint Louverture or Alexandre Petion.

Rolande: *Are you saying being black for Haitians is great?*

Jeb: I would not say that. They didn't have that problem. I don't know for now. But in my time we didn't have that problem. But prior to that, there was some kind of like light-skinned and dark-skinned; but, after 1946, things have changed. Therefore, I didn't suffer.

Katella: When I was in Haiti, I always knew that I was black. I never thought of color until I came here that I see. ... They would identify you as a white person or dark person depending on the color of your skin. We didn't have that problem at all in Haiti. I remember when I moved down here and I went to fill an application for homestead exemption and in the application, they ask you about your race and I wrote "Black." This Cuban woman told me, "You're not black"; and I was like, "Woman, I'm black," and she was telling me that I'm not black because of the color of my skin, which is light. That has bothered me.

Rolande: *How do you think of your race?*

Cary: I feel like I am proud of my race: being black, but in terms of being an American. Being black in America, it definitely, I would say, has its history with slavery. I can even recall being in school and watching *Roots* and just understanding the struggles that African Americans have gone through here in the United States when they tried to stop the slave trade, the stigmas around that; and the Civil Rights Movement and the segregation period that existed; and just all of the fights and struggles that the Civil Rights leaders went through to give blacks their rights. ... from that vantage point, just the appreciation of the history ... That's something I would say from my identity was not forgotten. In terms of just the black experience in America, it would be in the sense there is a vantage

point and a sense that I just have friends that were unnecessarily stopped because of their race by white officers.

Rolande: *If you go to Haiti ... do you think race is viewed differently in Haiti than in the United States?*

Cary: Absolutely. Race is viewed differently because I can recall when I was just playing out in the front yard of my grandmother's house. I was about ... I was young, I was probably less than 10 and someone was passing by and they said "*gade yon blanc*" [look at a white guy]; and wait, I'm like, "I'm black." Yeah ... "because you speak English, you're a white man."

Cary's and Katella's (F6D) responses reveal that race in the U.S. is used to divide citizens, while race in Haiti is a reminder of the Haitian battle for independence and racial equality. Many of the older members of the families in this research preferred to describe race in the context of their nationality; and the member of the younger generations, at times, associated race with social distribution of group advantages and disadvantages (Omi and Winant 1994). The F6D's assortment of race helps understand the misconception of the younger generation raised or born of Haitian immigrants in the U.S. For example, Cary explained that he went to Haiti when he was 10 years old. A man walking down the street heard him speaking English and he was automatically perceived as a "white man." While race usually is associated with physical traits in the U.S., in Haiti, speaking a different language signals that a person is a foreigner and will be categorized as "white" regardless of skin color. As discussed previously in Chapter 4, speaking a different language from the ethnic languages is a marker for racial identification in Haiti.

Both Abe (from F4B) and Cary (from F6D) explain that the issues related to racial divisions in the U.S. are not present in Haiti. For Abe, "the 'N word' doesn't exist in Haiti. There is not a word in Haiti that I could think of that degrades a race as much as

that word degrades African Americans.” Even though the word “Negroes” was used in Haiti, it does not have the same meaning as in the U.S. In fact, Jeb (F6D) explained that the word was used in a heroic manner—in which all Haitians believed they resemble Toussaint Louverture, Jean Jacques Dessalines, and/or Alexandre Petion, who were the main heroes of Haitian independence history. When the question of color arose for the older generation, it brought confusion. Katella (from F6D) recalled being asked to check “White” on a form, knowing that her skin color did not represent her nationality.

As Zephir (1996) argued, the perception of race in the U.S. is a new concept to Haitians. Haiti’s social structure is constructed mostly around class, with skin color being secondary if it plays any role at all. Guile from F8H explains:

I think my race, having come from Haiti, has shielded me from a lot of the baggage that people of my race have here in the U.S. Because I don’t have the history that African Americans, who have their ancestry from here, carry with them every day. I think that it has given me power to rise above some of that. That’s how I always felt.

Charm: Well, somewhat, you think of yourself as Haitian with more pride. Therefore, discriminatory practices that affect this country don’t affect you as much. You either don’t see them or you brush over them, but they’re not as present as what some African Americans may experience here.

Guile believes that she was able to rise above racial pressure because her racial perception came from Haiti. Likewise, Charm’s understanding of racial meaning shielded him, to some extent, from the racial stereotypes in the U.S.

To the contrary, their children, who grew up in the U.S., felt they were African Americans because of their skin color and probably their acquisition of the language. They explain:

Arlee: I think ... I mean well, basically because you guys grew up in Haiti and we grew up here ... makes a little a bit of a difference because you don’t get

the distinguishing factor from other people to notice that you're Haitian American. You just get, "So you are black." "So you are African." "So your ancestors were African." That's that. You know, we never had people distinguish that difference or we were able to tell people that we were Haitian Americans: because, first of all, being so young, you didn't really know how to explain that to people. So it is just kind of what we grew up as.

Lau: I feel like the answer you get to the response that "I'm Haitian" is "What's the difference?" But I don't think there's been that kind of distance.

Sambas: I think that I am only recently ... I would say in the past decade that I started to take pride again in distinguishing myself as Haitian American as opposed to just black. I don't think I saw a difference as a kid to make that distinction when I met new people. But recently, in the past decade, I started to ... if it comes up, I mention my parents are Haitian, for instance, as supposed to just I am from Florida. Now it becomes I'm from Florida, but my parents are Haitians.

Rolande: *If you go to Haiti, do you think race is viewed differently in Haiti than in the US?*

Sambas: I think so. But I think race is viewed differently everywhere you go. I think if you go to a certain part in the U.S., race is viewed differently. There are places where race is simply viewed in terms of socioeconomic status.

The meaning of race varies from generation to generation. In *Reconstructing Racial Identity*, Duany (1998) studied the racial identity pattern of Puerto Rican and Dominican immigrants in New York and explained that Dominicans who were perceived as white or "Indio" from their homeland had to accept the racialization to a darker category. One of the effects of racialization is the fact that it changes the cultural belief of racial identity. Unlike the Dominicans and the Puerto Ricans, Haitians in Haiti always were known as black. Haiti is unquestionably a black country that has a unique cultural flavor that instills a sense of pride among its citizenry. This unique mark becomes a reference for the generational Haitian immigrants and their children. Although the generations born in the U.S. lived and were raised with their parents' conception of race, their own meaning of race had to incorporate their everyday life in the U.S. Lau's

response to her parents indicates that her generation belongs to the “African” or “black American” categorization regardless of her parents’ understanding of race.

The findings of this research show how American racialization can change the perspective of children born of immigrants. In addition, the parents’ influence was not enough to convince some members of the generations born in the U.S. to follow their parents’ understanding of race in analyzing racial discrimination. Haitians who immigrated to the U.S. referred to their history of independence. Further, the history of independence brought a sense of pride to the generations coming from Haiti. This pride was not easily transmitted to members of the third generation.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The American social structure is, to a large extent, established on the elimination and subordination of the indigenous and black populations as a means of production in a white racial frame. Perceived whiteness was considered the norm for maintaining social privilege and as justification for the subjugation of people of color (Yancy 2012).

Despite improvements in civil rights for women and people of color, racism still remains a pervasive problem. Systemic racism, as described by Feagin (2010), consists of behaviors, policies, practices, ideas, and mutually dependent racist institutions that sustain disadvantage for racialized groups. Systemic racism has played a major role in the everyday life of generational Haitian immigrants and their children.

In fact, different ethnic groups are sometimes pitted against each other. F11D³³ illustrates this. The family has 3 people from 3 different generations. Violate is 67 year old, and is the mother of Annette, a 33 year old who is the mother of Seaton, a 13-year-old boy.

Rolande: *Can you think of a recent experience you have had in which you felt you have been discriminated against?*

Violate: Mostly job related. Here in Miami when a Haitian and a Hispanic apply for the same job, they will pick the Hispanic person over you regardless of your qualification.

Rolande: *What do you think?*

Annette: I agree with her. If you are looking for a job now, it is always Spanish required, not Creole, as a second language.

Violate: I think it is only in Miami.

Annette: Yes, in Miami they favor the Hispanic culture more.

Violate's response describes a perception that discrimination limits black immigrants from access to economic power within society. Violate is a first generation. She was born and raised in Haiti. She immigrated to the U.S. with her daughter Annette at the age of 10. Annette supports her mother's statement. Her statement, however, assumes that people do not meet the criteria to work if they do not speak Spanish in Miami. Miami has two major ethnic groups: Haitians and Cubans. The Cubans are viewed as whites and Haitians are blacks. Even though Violate and Annette are two different generations, their experiences in this matter were the same. Using color and language has been the common practice of systemic racism in maintaining the privileges for the in-group.

³³ F11D. The mother, a first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, is a widow working at a gas station. The daughter, a second generation A who arrived in the U.S. at the age of 5, is a pharmacy technician. The grandson, a third generation who was born in the U.S., is in 8th grade in middle school.

Many of the respondents elucidate that because the Cubans dominate the job market in Florida, and most of the openings require applicants to be bilingual in English and Spanish.

Freda, from F1B, works as a head pharmacist technician at a pharmacy in Broward County. Regarding work, she responded:

Opportunities, I would say, yes, they looked at you differently at work. Because I work in a pharmacy, I am the head pharmacist technician at my store. In order for me to get to that position I had to fight for it.

Rolande: *Was it because you were Haitian and black?*

Freda: No, because my boss was Hispanic at that time and she wanted a Hispanic person to be promoted instead of me.

Most first and second generation C respondents expressed their frustration with racial discrimination in the workplace. The previous chapters showed how cultural heritage can contribute to the reinforcement of self-esteem and self-confidence among the first generation and second generation A and C. Freda, as a second generation C, had the advantage of growing up in Haiti. Perhaps because of these advantages, she was confident enough to fight for positions.

Mara (F2B) believes that a Haitian black woman is discriminated against for three things. She explained:

“Haitian” is a criterion that people think to focus on to discriminate and reject. I worked for the state of Florida for ten years, and I recently resigned. I have been awarded five times by Tallahassee for doing outstanding work and for bringing Broward County health up in the state of Florida. Again, for ten years, I was selected as the best employee. I was never promoted, never had a raise. Further, I had applied for an upper position and I was turned down. They wanted me to be where I was since I made them look well. On the contrary, my husband worked for the same agency and got promoted three times. When I was in Miami, I was the employee of the year. Because of those experiences, I always told my daughters being a woman is hard, and being black is even harder.

Mara provides an illuminating opinion of institutional racism that clearly shows that racial discrimination is more than racial appearance. In line with Collins (2008), Mara was a victim of the “matrix of domination,” which elucidates the interrelation of race, gender, and class as they relate to oppression. This form of oppression is one type of systemic racism. Mara’s husband benefited and had more privileges than Mara, an illustration of how gender framing is important as well (Feagin2009).

For many respondents, there is no fair play in the workplace for black immigrants in Florida. Conversely, other respondents maintained that they did not encounter racial discrimination at work. Gruel (F1B) argued:

I think we should know that things are not handed to us on a silver platter but we have to work for it. But, of course, you would have to work a little bit harder sometimes than other people. On my old job I worked hard and I was given opportunities and I am Haitian, and there were Hispanics and other nationalities as well. I don’t think it is everywhere.

Gruel’s response to the question can be interpreted as internalizing the negative stereotypes that black people are lazy. But her mentioning putting more effort into work also recognizes discrimination against “some people.” Gruel’s sister-in-law, Freda, is a second generation C and Gruel is a third generation. Freda previously explained that she has to fight for her position because her supervisor preferred to have a Hispanic person. Freda said she was not going to have the job because of skin color. Unlike Freda, Gruel believed that promotions were based on hard work and merit rather than merely race and gender. Her response, then, is not different from the previous answers from the third generation and/or second generation A. An explanation is that she is unconsciously acting in the white racial framing of black people as being lazy (Feagin 2009).

For certain members of the first generation, the U.S is a land of opportunity: if one does what is right, one will not have to encounter racism. For example, Guerilla said:

I believe that it is. I am so proud in my Haitian skin that I see myself only as a citizen whether I am in the midst of white people in an elevator or in an airplane. I have not really been victimized: neither have my kids, nor has anyone in my family. We live respectful lives. I believe that when people judge you based on your skin color, it is because you have done something wrong. They judge you on account of your attitudes. Me, I don't let people judge me because I do what is right and what is respectful. In addition, I am a Christian and I believe a lot in God. As Haitian, I heard people say that Haitians believe in Voodoo. I don't believe in voodoo; and my faith in God is so strong that even if someone was to treat me on account of racism, I will not let that bother me. I will make sure that my color is not the reason.

Unlike Gruel, Guerilla is aware of racism, but, having grown up in Haiti, she does not "see" discrimination in the same way.

As the discussion demonstrates, racial discrimination affects all the generations of immigrants, although the perceptions vary. The experiences of the members of the first and second generations born in Haiti differ from the members of the second and the third generations on racial discrimination. As Abe (in F4B) explained:

The most recent is actually with one of my students who made a comment ... a black student. He said: "I cannot stand black professors. I wish my professor was white." I asked the student why that is. He answered: "nothing against black people. I really feel like I am learning when I am learning it from a white person." I was just so taken aback by that, you know... sometimes that's part of the burden of a black man. My friend and I always say, how is it being black man in America? That's part of the burden of being a black man in America seeing all those negative things are attached to you. You are constantly fighting stigmas instead of living your life and succeeding. You are constantly saying: "I am not angry," "I am not stupid," "I am not from the street." Constantly, you have to fight that off. Other races just don't go through that.

Abe's response provides a revealing assessment of racial discrimination that clearly shows the impact of the racial framing. The student perceives the white professor as more knowledgeable. The racial frame leads the student to underestimate the intellectual capacity of a black man like him. This is linked to Yancy's analysis on the historical construction of whiteness that served as a meta-narrative in which people of color are considered inferior in order to raise whiteness as a mark of superiority (Yancy 2012). Thus, the student's attitude of inferiority reinforces white superiority.

As the interviews showed, cultural connections to Haiti helped to combat negative self-perceptions and enabled people to combat discrimination. The generations' opinions are distinct and are based on their experiences. Those most distant from the immigrant experience were most likely to identify as American and be more subject to the inequalities that stem from the white racial frame.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To investigate the multifaceted identity of Haitian immigrant families living in Dade, Broward and Hillsborough counties in Florida, I examined identities related to race, class, and ethnicity as well as family roles and community roles. I developed a unique sample of generations: that is, I interviewed those who identified as being of Haitian descent and their families. Each family interviewed included at least two generations. This enabled me to assess how the older generation affects the way in which family members viewed their identities and how their experiences might change their identities and views about both Haiti and the United States. I recruited 31 families with a total of 127 individual members from four generations with the support of existing networks in the three counties. I interviewed 110 people of the 127 members between the ages of 12 and 90. A total of 17 members could not participate because of the age requirement and/or availability due to work constraints.

Sociological identity theories suggest that people's identities and the affiliation linking to these identities and their behavior are continuously adjusting in reaction to their identities from the social structure around them (Burke 1991, 2004; Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002 Stryker 1994). Children born of Haitian immigrants from different generations and their parents have revealed that the racial classification debate in the U.S. and prejudicial attitudes have encouraged them to take an identity that is multifaceted. So, while there is clear recognition of race issues and prejudice, the

generations of Haitian immigrants also often identify with their cultural heritage, community activities, and the immigrant experience.

Deaux (2000) hypothesized that white immigrants belong to the in-group that enjoyed power and prestige, while black immigrants belong to the out-group that has been labeled as inferiors. This disproportionate division of immigrants was established and secured by a white racial frame in the early stage of the United States' foundation. The racial frame was instrumental in imposing a racial identity with white being privileged in both political and capital gains and blacks being at the bottom (Feagin 2010, 2013). Because racial identity is a determining factor in the U.S., it has played a major role in how, particularly, the children of Haitian immigrants are affected by the way that family and social identities are interpreted and acted upon. The racial classification of "black" and "white" represents a significant impediment in the everyday social life of Haitian immigrants and their children. Feagin's theory of the white racial frame demonstrates how racial classification imposes racial identities on those who were born in the United States as well as those who enter as immigrants. Many members of the older generations of Haitian immigrants have refused to accept the imposed racial identities and struggled against them. One result of this struggle is that many of the immigrants and their children adopt identities that are multifaceted within the same family across generations. Examples of such strategies of resistance were emphatically shown by many of the respondents. Statements such as "I am 100% Haitian," "I am a proud Haitian," were indications that they used their cultural identification as ways to resist negative categorizations.

The preceding chapters revealed how different generations of Haitian immigrants living in Florida are affected by the way that family and social identities are interpreted in the U.S. and how conflicts manifest themselves within the generations among the families. In particular, I examined the complicated nature of identity linked to language, perception of self, role identity and community relations. In line with the literature on social identity intergroup behavior, the older generations of Haitians' knowledge of and interests in their country of birth elucidated their pride, which they tried to instill in the life of most of the younger generations in the study. Most of those interviewed had a sense of group belonging that acted to buffer some of the negative encounters created. By recalling the history of the revolution of Haiti through radio programs, by exalting their art, music, and also their African- and French-influenced cuisine, some members of the younger generations who were born in or immigrated to the U.S. at an early age were able to build a collective identity that facilitated a stronger ethnic and visible cultural identity (Melucci 1989). In regards to their ethnic identity, the older generations revealed a stronger attachment to it than the younger generations. The older generations brought up their cultural practices and beliefs to their community in attempt to pass them on to their children and advocate for the members in need of social justice. This was not always successful. In fact, the younger generations varied in their relations with Haiti and their communities.

Those born or immigrated early to the U.S. have command of the English language, which allowed them to build their own group networks among peers of the same culture; and, as a result, they were generally less attached to their ancestral culture.

To strengthen these generations about their collective, cultural, and ethnic identities, members of the older generations formed community, professional, religious, and philanthropic organizations. Younger generations who rejected affiliation with those collective identities departed from the cultural trends as part of their strategy to survive in the hostile environment. Alba and Nee (2003) along with Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that the second generation of immigrants born in the United States faced less discrimination than the first one. This study revealed that this argument of racial discrimination has excluded the key elements of Deaux's (2000) analysis of the in-group privileges and the out-group experiences of discrimination as well as Feagin's (2001, 2006) approaches to systemic racism.

The second and third generations who relocated from New York reacted differently to discrimination in schools, from their peers, and places of employment than those who were born in or immigrated early in life to Florida. By emphasizing the differences in the reaction between the younger generations of Haitian children in New York and Florida, I found that the younger generations moving from New York to Florida were more attached to their ethnic identity than those who were born or landed in Florida. Unlike Alba and Nee (2003) and Portes and Zhou (1993), I discovered that pride in ethnic identity can lessen the tension of a specific individual but would not eliminate racial discrimination that was long established for the out-groups. The study revealed that acts of racial discrimination were, first of all, clearly perceived by the younger generations, although not necessarily those who came right from Haiti. However, it was also the case that those who had initially been in New York were more resistant to

stereotypes. In part, I suggested that this might be due to the different groups of Haitians that arrived in New York versus Miami.

By examining the socialization dynamics that occur within the family, I found that all generations believed that racist ideology can cause one to lose perspective even for the common or collective good. The key divergence between the younger generations and the older generations within a family is the dynamic of integration into the mainstream society. The older generations entered the U.S. with national and cultural identities that made them ready to face their new environment. This was not the same for the younger generations born in the U.S. who had to negotiate with their parents' values as well as those of mainstream culture. The findings revealed that the second generations born in the U.S. of Haitian parents perceived their identities around their family surroundings and the mainstream society, such as work, gender roles, and social positions with a fractured racial identity. Because their parents came from a country where race is irrelevant among the populace, their children were sometimes confused about their racial identity. The study also revealed that those children often transmitted the U.S. concept of race to Haiti.

Social identity theory assumes a self-enhancement motive (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Hoggs and Abram 1988) and that group identities serve as important buffers against negative events. In my study, Haitian American identity offered a sense of social identity for the second generations born in the U.S. For most of the respondents from that category, Haitian American identity was not adopted until they became adults, largely because of others' negative images of Haitian immigrants as boat people. Unlike

the second generation B, the first generation and second generation A and C speak their ethnic languages and have knowledge of Haitian culture, and so being “Haitian American” was an important identity.

Immigrants show a gratitude to the U.S. and pledge to become part of it, but, at the same time, keep a strong relationship to their country of origin. It was very common for my respondents to keep ties and send money to family members. First generation and second generation A and C maintained closed relations with the home country and the second generations B and third and fourth generations have an occasional relationship depending on their parents’ connection to the country. In fact, most members of the third generation adopted a triple ethnicity (Haitian-African-American). In this regard, it is important to point out that direct relation with the group has played an important role in constructing collective identity (Prentice et al. 1994) . Collective identity, according to Melucci (1989), offers an in-between course of action in which individuals share a sense of being members of a group. This finding provides support for further research on how group social identities and collective identity can affect social action.

Social and collective analyses of immigrant families are important to analyze how identification with the home country can mitigate the racial discrimination encountered in the U.S. Ethnic and national identities foster other forms of identity, which keep developing throughout an individual’s life. So, for example, ethnic language created more identity and lessened the difference between Haitian generations. The usage of ethnic languages for second generation A allowed them to keep a sense of pride in the home country while at the same time marked them as “other” and could foster

discrimination in the U.S. (It was revealed that many from second generation B felt such discrimination.) It is also important to note in a family of two or three generations that the communication typically operated on two levels; mother and father spoke to one another in their ethnic languages, while English was spoken to the children. This was the case even though many of the children learned to speak at least one of the ethnic languages. The choice of speaking English with the children was to help them avoid alienation, especially in school settings. Members of second generation B and third generation who spoke or understood the Creole language perceived themselves as Haitian Americans. They were involved in ethnic organizations at schools or universities and participated in ethnic professional organizations.

In addition to the major role that language plays in self-identity, stereotypes also played a large role. Even if younger generations did not speak any of the ethnic languages, they often relied on a Haitian identity to minimize the effects of stereotypes attached to African American identity. This finding is not simply about generational divergences on language: it also shows that language can shape our thoughts and determine our social status. My findings on language provide a different view for scholars on affective control theory to further investigate. Having two communicative languages not only lessened the tension in school for the younger generations but they became equipped to navigate in the two cultures.

In examining the way members of the younger generations identified themselves, I also looked at the way others view them. Based on the findings, the second generation A and B, third, and fourth generation believed that, because of the skin color, the spoken

language, and speaking English with a foreign accent, others usually perceived them as African American, Hispanic American, Caribbean American, or Haitian American. Respondents from older generations generally had a much simpler view of how others viewed them. They believed that they were regarded as Haitian immigrants.

Many of my Haitian respondents organized strong networks of organizations to maintain their sense of being Haitian. That is precisely what Schiller et al. (1999) called the “transnational field.” Schiller et al. explained that the immigrant experiences and family duties are recognized through a language of blood that connects people to a broader conception of transnational land. The findings revealed that many of the founders of the community organizations were people from New York who, for the most part, were members of the first generation and second generation C who had left their homeland due to political dilemmas. They moved from New York to Florida to join a social movement aimed at social justice for the newly arrival Haitian refugees who were badly treated by the U.S. immigration services. They formed community and religious organizations: such as the Haitian Refugees Center, Haitian American Center of Dade County, and many more with the support of its members’ civil rights.

This newer group of refugees had faced many negative stereotypes. This was different from the earlier Haitian immigrants who were once viewed as “Frenchies”(French speakers) in the northern U.S., where the first group of Haitian immigrants had mostly lived. The older groups of immigrants developed philanthropic and professional organizations and organized trips to Haiti for medical and economic support in the members’ regional communities. Children of those members usually

supported the efforts of their parents. They later became involved in school or university ethnic organizations. Significantly, it was also revealed that the Haitian Association of Tampa Bay had its professional retired members serving as volunteers to assist needy children in the Hillsborough County school system. This group has also established a yearly scholarship for excellent students in the community. This is what Brewer and Gardner (1996) in their research on *Who is We? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations* and Heise's (1998) seminal work *Condition for Empathic Solidarity* mentioned about the importance of the group. Whereas there is a difference in the types of organizations built by the generations, the anticipated result is for the same purpose. Regardless of the social class of Haitian immigrants that were coming to the U.S., their conditions and reception by immigration services required a collective solidarity from the established communities.

These organizations have played an important role in bringing attention to social justice issues for Haitian immigrants in collaboration with other human rights groups. The many organizations presented in Chapter Four of this study underline how these organizations advocated for issues related to immigration, education, health, and economic development for Haitian communities in both the U.S. and Haiti. They also serve as important connections of Haitian immigrants and their families to the homeland.

BEING AN IMMIGRANT: EXPERIENCES IN THE U.S. VS. HAITI

The numerous organizations reflect the image of ethnic solidarity and collective consciousness for the well being of Haitian identities. Nonetheless, it would be

inaccurate to accept these meanings as concrete facts because identities are multifaceted. For example, the U.S. media's negative portrayal of Haiti continues to influence the younger generations' way of viewing the country of their ancestors. The negative portrayal of Haiti and actual experience with the country reshapes the views of Haiti by the younger generation of Haitian immigrant families. The findings indicate that actual experience with Haiti appears to influence what the respondents say about being Haitian. The respondents from the younger generations who spent vacation time in Haiti maintained some degree of Haitian ethnic and cultural identities. Those who relied on the media for information saw the negative aspects of Haiti more as a "visitor" rather than as a Haitian. Curiously, they would still claim Haitian American identity. Parental dissociation with the homeland also led to children's distancing from a Haitian identity.

As for the older generations, all the respondents expressed feelings of being outsiders in the U.S., while members of the second generation and third generation born in Haiti who visited the country at least once expressed a sense of love and protectiveness of the country of their ancestors. In comparison with members of second generation A, they were more eager to discover Haiti than the second generation A born there who conveyed a feeling of disassociation with the homeland. From a social perspective, association with the country of ancestors may play a big role in the lives of younger generations born in the U.S. and the ones who immigrated at a young age. Yet, this does not imply an open door for social integration. As Gans (1999) explained, assimilation is dissociation with the home country's values and culture, and, within the

acculturation, the immigrants adopt the host country's values and culture. Thus, this procedure requires an understanding of the immigrants' many form of identities.

As stated earlier, identities are complex because of the assimilation processes that immigrants of color have to undergo to integrate into the host country. It was the dictum of the first immigrants in the United States that directed the guidelines that would determine the country's principles for assimilation. Gordon's (1964) seminal work on *Assimilation in American Life* explained that descendants of immigrants needed some adjustments before integration into the mainstream society, even though there is evidence that the assimilation process is accompanied by social integration. In this case, Gordon was referring to the European descendants who were coming from diverse European cultures. For immigrants of color, this assimilation seemed to reach what Gordon called "structural assimilation."

According to Gordon, the history of racial discrimination and prejudice tends to be ameliorated with the younger generations born in the U.S. It is likely this change occurs because English becomes the native language and they have access to the public school. However, for black-skinned immigrants, the process is not the same. As Deaux pointed out, children of immigrants are more fully exposed to all the racial stereotypes that are part of the everyday interactions and institutional processes. My data suggested that these stereotypes indeed negatively affect those children born of immigrants in the U.S. and their second-generation children. But the data also suggest that ethnic identity can act as a kind of buffer that diminishes the stress of prejudice and discrimination

surrounding them. The findings have shown that the effects of cultural values and beliefs influence the pathways of integration for Haitian immigrants and their children.

As Kasinitz et al. (2008) pointed out, children of immigrants navigated between the parents' culture and the country of birth culture. The cultural elements of discipline among the respondents influenced the way parents acted toward children and the way children responded to the discipline. The respondents from the oldest generations insisted on children maintaining Haitian values, which emphasizes education as an important and integral tool for success in life. The younger generations born in Haiti, for the most part, retained strong cultural and ethnic identities, while the younger generations born in the U.S. were still investigating their cultural values. Most of the first generation and second generation C members believed and reported that American culture facilitates disobedience and misbehavior in the generations born in the U.S. A sense of non-respect for parents and elders and a decreased level of obedience were expressed as "American values" that differed from Haitian values. On the other hand, members of second generation A and B and third generation reported that Haitian parents were too strict and rigid with their children and traditional values.

The findings revealed that the older generations feared that American law has restricted parents in their way of disciplining their children. Respondents from the older generations and parents from the younger generation claimed that American legislation on children's rights and cultural influence of American values and lifestyles have changed the familial relations. The respondents expressed discontent with how American culture affected children. Parents from the first generation expressed dissatisfaction with

parents who held two jobs, which left them less time to maintain control of the home, and led to their children failing to follow rules—such as curfew times. Although the literature on assimilation does not address the importance of family time, this finding contributes to segmented assimilation. The focus on segmented assimilation neglected consideration of how time constraints faced by immigrant families with low income. My respondents certainly voiced their opinion that the level of guidance and parents authority over their children plays an important role in children's social identity in their struggles to assimilate into the mainstream society.

Few immigration scholars have examined the structural assimilation concept in terms of institutional procedures. Alba and Nee (2003) proposed a new version of straight-line assimilation that assumed that the Civil Rights legislation changed the color line for assimilation. Thus, the experiences of generational immigrants and their experiences with schools, teachers, police, and medical practitioners are vital to the consideration of structural integration for black immigrants. Responses from all four generations varied and experiences differed. Twenty two respondents reported having problems with schools or teachers. The rest of the respondents did not or had not encountered direct dilemmas during the time of their interviews, but were well aware of other peers experiencing problems with teachers. The first generation and second generation C who had children in the U.S. often sent their children to private schools, mostly Catholic. They expressed the view that private schools were better for their children and often sacrificed family resources to ensure a more positive school experience. Haitian parents sought schools that were more integrated with better-

qualified teachers and more educational resources for their children. Whether it is warranted or not, parents expressed the fear that public school teachers would call the police on parents who disciplined their children.

Many perceived racial prejudice as being prevalent among teachers. For example, several respondents from the younger generations revealed that their teachers only looked at their skin color or last name to determine that they were going to have problems in class. The respondents from the first generation and second generation C who landed in New York prior to coming to Florida believed that prejudice and discrimination were worse in Florida. Respondents from second generation A and B, who are now parents claimed that during their time in school in New York, teachers or professors were very involved in helping them with their endeavors in school. Conversely, second generation A and B in Florida explained that they were always discriminated against by their peers or by the teachers. Their peers called them either “boat people” or “Haitians” and, most of the time, teachers called on them when the media portrayed something negative about Haiti. Because of this stigma, many did not want to associate with their ethnic identity until reaching adulthood. However, for the most part, they were often “caught” because of the distinctiveness of their names, clothing, or language. Children growing up in New York were more integrated and felt less discrimination. In Florida, there was an immigration double standard between black Haitians and Spanish Cubans. Haitian refugees were coming at the same time as the Cubans but were detained at Chrome Detention Center in South Florida or deported

without due process. On the other hand, Cubans were given opportunities to stay and often had economic support.

More specifically, immigrants' children who were born in New York responded more positively about their experiences and tended to ignore the prejudice in schools. Those in Florida reported more negative experiences, even in places, like Hillsborough County, that are not traditional Haitian refugees' destinations. One way to interpret this difference is that "being Haitian" was more stigmatized in Florida than in New York. However, it is also important to consider whether those who came to New York originally had more resources than those who came to Florida. In the case of the respondents whom I interviewed, both factors were at play. Nevertheless, it is clear that for people who lived in both states, the stigma was viewed as very different.

As Feagin in the *White Racial Frame* explained, the racial frame established from the foundation of the U.S. is an "overarching worldview, one that encompasses racial ideas, terms, images, emotions and interpretation" (Feagin 2010:3). This worldview was apparent and understood by my respondents. As an example, generations within families shared the same views about the police practices and members of the first generation practice safe driving in order to avoid confrontation or interaction with the police. A member of the older generation explained that he was once almost arrested because he resembled another black person, which is the well-known practice of racial profiling. Using an old version of the white racial framing, the structure of the police was initially built into the beliefs that all black men look the same; as such, when a black

man committed a crime, any other black man could be picked up for the it (Feagin 2010, 2013; Pinkney 1984).

Another example is from a member of second generation C who explained that he went once to have a license permit for his engineering firm and a police officer questioned him in a way that made him feel that he was not the president of the company. Interestingly, the police happened to be Haitian because he recognized a Haitian accent. By focusing on the analysis of experiences with the police and their practices, one can easily see the role of the white racial frame in the police institutions and how stereotyping aids in the discriminatory process (Feagin 2010). While there were relatively few instances of actual interaction with the police, almost all respondents expressed fear of the police. These findings support Feagin's conception that the police institution is part of a racist frame established since the beginning of the U.S. Few negative interactions with medical practitioners were mentioned, in part, because many of the respondents went to Haitian doctors.

Historically, the United States bases its social structure on the subjugation of people of color. This structure was solidified with the creation of institutionalized hegemony that is based on personal and cultural frames of references and beliefs. To investigate the impact of the racial dilemma of the United States on different generations of Haitian immigrants, I looked at the way race affected different generations of immigrants.

EFFECTS OF RACE

Omi and Winant's (1994) seminal work on racial formation defined race as a social concept that plays an organizing role in society at both the macro and micro level, whereas race is not biological, but rather legally constructed (Lopez 2006). The findings revealed that the older generation had difficulties understanding and identifying with the concept of race in the U.S., while the younger generations had more varied understandings and experiences of race. Responses from the second generation born in the U.S. and third generation showed that these generations feel confused and, for the most part, identified as black Americans instead of Haitian Americans. This confusion has to do with the fact they were born of parents who were Americanized and their attachment to the homeland was a distant one. For the respondents who were born in Haiti and migrated during adolescence, race was related to African blood and Haitian is the nationality. Past research on race and ethnicity indicated that Afro-Caribbeans took on their national identity while taking pride in their African cultural heritage to avoid the stereotypes connected with race. For families where the parents were born in the U.S., their children were confused sometimes about skin color and race; and for the children of parents born in Haiti, race to them refers to the country.

Unlike the younger generations born in the U.S., the older generations perceive themselves as Haitians. They talked about the history of Haiti. They believed that their history in Haiti has helped them to cope with the many stereotypes in the U.S. At times, younger generations traveling to Haiti experienced some marginality. So, for example, a son explained how he was called "*blanc*" in Haiti because he was speaking English.

Respondents from the younger generations born in the U.S. had difficulties in differentiating the racial formation from their parents' nationality.

Duany (1998) in his work, *Reconstructing Racial Identity*, examined Dominican and Puerto Rican racial identities and explained the obstacles that Dominicans and Puerto Ricans had when they came to the U.S. Those who were known as white or "Indio" became black in the U.S. Unlike the Dominicans and the Puerto Ricans, Haitian respondents from younger generations (born in the US) identified race with the skin color, while the older generations born and raised in Haiti identified race with language, culture, and class. Further, skin colors were described in term of beauty: such as "Marabu," "Brunette," "Negresse," and "Mulattoes." However, unfamiliarity with these names by the younger generations who visited Haiti made them think that race in Haiti is the same as the U.S. The findings reveal how racialization in the U.S. changed the cultural belief of racial identity.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Feagin's (2010) work on *Racist America* argued that scholars have refused to fully examine institutional racism. It seems clear that this approach helps the U.S. to understand the profundity of its system of racial discrimination and resentment. The findings revealed that the older generations have a different view about discrimination than the younger generations. The older generations left their home with the narrative that they were coming to a place that is not home. In fact, many of them have expressed the desire to return home for retirement. This is different from the younger generations

who were born in or immigrated to the U.S. at a very young age and were raised here: the U.S. is their home. In fact, in their quest for social identity, they often get involved in the fight against all types of social injustice. The respondents who talked about experiencing an act of discrimination either faced it at work or school. Looking at the way the generations describe their experiences with discrimination, a strong sense of self-confidence was revealed in the older generations and, in some ways, served to inspire younger generations. These findings add to the literature on empathic solidarity (Melucci 1989; Brewer and Gardner 1996; Heise 1998). The emphasis on collective identity theory in response to racial discrimination ignores the potential reaction that can be created in mobilizing for joint action. Thus, the findings of this study add to the literature on empathic solidarity.

W.E.B. Du Bois argued that, “It is but human experience to find that the complete suppression of a race is impossible. Despite inner discouragement and submission to the oppression of others there persisted the mighty spirit, the emotional rebound that kept a vast number struggling for its rights for self expression, and for social uplift” (1935/1998:702). This spirit of persistence of social justice was revealed in this research. Haitian participants and their descendants were discriminated against in three ways: as blacks, as foreigners, and as black foreigners. They were discriminated as blacks despite the fact black for Haitians is not the same as it is in the United States; as such Haitians, are also discriminated based on nationality (Woldemikael 1989; Zephir 1995). They were discriminated against as foreigners because Haitian immigrants are members of the cultural out-group (Deaux 2000). And they were discriminated against

as black foreigners because of the racialization of immigrants. Descendants of Haitian immigrants referred to their cultural heritage for support against racial discrimination (Waters 1999). Also, importantly, they discussed methods of resistance that centered on strong family structures and rules, emphasis on education, and strong ties through ethnic organizations.

CONTRIBUTION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

One of the most important contributions of this study stems from the investigation of the multifaceted identity that adds to the discussion of the issue of immigrants' multiple identities. A number of researchers have examined the identity of immigrants (Deaux 2008; Duany 1998; Burke 1991, 2004; Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002; Smith-Lovin and Heise 1988; Heise 2002; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Melucci 1989; Prentice et al. 1994; Brewer and Gardner 1996). However, little research considers identity within the same family across generations. By viewing generations, we can see how socialization interacts with the changing environment. Moreover, this study also contributes to the racial debates on how immigrants of color assimilate and integrate into U.S. culture. Past research discusses the different types of assimilation that immigrants of color may undergo (Gordon 1964; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Alba and Nee 2003). The study of families of generational Haitian immigrants shows that children do retain much of their cultural heritage rather than fully assimilating.

Future research might further examine how socioeconomic status affects the stigmatization process. Many of the families were of higher socioeconomic status: they

were educated and had relatively high incomes. Still, they were subjected to the stigmatization of being black and being immigrants. How, then, are other Haitians with fewer resources affected by the stigma? Additionally, many of my respondents were involved in organizations that either directly or indirectly affected Haitians and Haitian immigrants. These organizations were important to many of the respondents' identities and served to further strengthen community ties. Further investigation of these organizations might be another avenue that might lead to uncovering further strategies of resistance.

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APPENDIX A-1
CONSENT FORM

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Haitian identities

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Rolande Dathis, a researcher from Texas A &M University. The information in this form is provided to help you decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this consent form. If you decide you do not want to participate, there will be no penalty to you, and you will not lose any benefits you normally would have.

Why Is This Study Being Done?

The purpose of this study is to investigate Haitian immigrants' experiences and opinions.

Why Am I Being Asked To Be In This Study?

You are being asked to be in this study because you are a member of a family in the Haitian Community.

How Many People Will Be Asked To Be In This Study?

32 families (overall, up to 200 participants) will be enrolled in this study in Miami-Dade County, Broward County, and Hillsborough County in Florida.

What Are the Alternatives to being in this study?

The alternative to being in the study is not to participate.

What Will I Be Asked To Do In This Study?

You will be asked to answer questions about your experiences, your opinions and your feelings.

Your participation in this study will last up to and 2 hours but you can stop at any time, and you do not need to answer any questions that you do not wish to.

Will Photos, Video or Audio Recordings Be Made Of Me during the Study?

The researchers will take audio recording during the study only if you give your permission to do so. Indicate your decision below by initialing in the space provided.

_____ I give my permission for audio recording to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

_____ I do not give my permission for audio recordings to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

Are There Any Risks To Me?

The things that you will be doing are no more risks than you would come across in everyday life.

Although the researchers have tried to avoid risks, you may feel that some questions/procedures that are asked of you will be stressful or upsetting. You do not have to answer anything you do not want to.

Are There Any Benefits To Me?

There is no direct benefit to you by being in this study. What the researchers find out from this study may help other people with societal benefit.

Will There Be Any Costs To Me?

Aside from your time, there are no costs for taking part in the study.

Will I Be Paid To Be In This Study?

You will not be paid for being in this study.

Will Information From This Study Be Kept Private?

The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Your interview will be stored securely on a recorder until it can be transcribed. As soon as it is transcribed, the audio file will be destroyed and the transcriptions will be stored on a password protected computer. Your names are never recorded on the transcriptions.

Information about you will be kept to the extent permitted or required by law. People who have access to your information include the Protocol Director, Rolande Dathis and Dr. Sell, Dr. Feagin, Dr. McIntosh, and Dr. Curry. Representatives of regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) and entities such as the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program may access your records to make sure the study is being run correctly and that information is collected properly.

Who may I Contact for More Information?

You may contact the Faculty Sponsor, Dr. Jane Sell, to tell her about a concern or complaint about this research study. Her phone number is 979 845-6120 and her email

is j-sell@tamu.edu You can also call the protocol director, Rolande Dathis, at 281- 394-5905 or email her at rolandedath@yahoo.com

For questions about your rights as a research participant; or if you have questions, complaints, or concerns about the research, you may call the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program office at (979) 458-4067 or irb@tamu.edu.

What if I Change My Mind About Participating?

This research is voluntary and you have the choice whether or not to be in this research study. You may decide to not begin or to stop participating at any time.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I agree to be in this study and know that I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. The procedures, risks, and benefits have been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. A copy of this entire consent form will be given to me.

_____ Signature of Presenter	_____ Date
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_____ Printed Name	_____ Date
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INVESTIGATOR'S AFFIDAVIT:

Either I have or my agent has carefully explained to the participant the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who signed this consent form was informed of the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation.

_____ Signature of Presenter	_____ Date
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_____ Printed Name	_____ Date
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Version Date:



IRB NUMBER: IRB2014-0125
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 03/24/2014
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 03/15/2015

APPENDIX A-2

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

Project Title: Haitian identities

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Rolande Dathis, a researcher from Texas A&M University. The information in this form is provided to help you and your child decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to allow your child to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this permission form. If you decide you do not want your child to participate, there will be no penalty to you or your child, and your child will not lose any benefits they normally would have.

Why Is This Study Being Done?

The purpose of this study is to investigate Haitian immigrant's experiences and opinions.

Why is My Child Being Asked to Be in This Study?

Your child is being asked to be in this study because you are a member of a family in the Haitian Community.

How Many People Will Be Asked To Be In This Study?

32 families (overall, up to 200 participants) will be enrolled in this study in Miami-Dade County, Broward County, and Hillsborough County in Florida.

What Are the Alternatives to being in this study?

The alternative to being in the study is not to participate.

What Will My Child Be Asked To Do In This Study?

Your child will be asked to answer questions about his or her experiences, opinions and feelings.

Participation in this study will last up to 2 hours but your child (or children) can stop at any time and he or she does not need to answer any question that she or he does not want to.

Will Photos, Video or Audio Recordings Be Made Of My Child during the Study?

The researchers will take audio recording during the study only if you and your child give permission to do so. Indicate your decision by initialing in the space provided.

_____ I give permission for audio recording to be made of my child during their participation in this research study.

_____ I do not give permission for audio recordings to be made of my child during their participation in this study.

Are There Any Risks To My Child?

The things that your child will be doing are no more risks than your child would come across in everyday life.

Although the researchers have tried to avoid risks, your child may feel that some questions/procedures that are asked are stressful or upsetting. Your child does not have to answer anything he or she does not want to.

Will There Be Any Costs To My Child?

Aside from their time, there are no costs for taking part in the study.

Will My Child Be Paid To Be In This Study?

Your child will not be paid for being in this study

Will Information From This Study Be Kept Private?

The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking your child to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely on a recorder until it can be transcribed. As soon as it is transcribed, the audio file will be destroyed and the transcriptions will be stored on a password protected computer. Your names are never recorded on the transcriptions.

Information about your child will be kept confidential to the extent permitted or required by law. People who have access to your information include the Protocol Director, Rolande Dathis and Dr. Sell, Dr. Feagin, Dr. McIntosh, and Dr. Curry. Representatives of regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) and entities such as the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program may access your child's records to make sure the study is being run correctly and that information is collected properly.

Who may I Contact for More Information?

You may contact the Faculty Sponsor, Dr. Jane Sell, to tell her about a concern or complaint about this research study. Her phone number is 979 845- 6120 and her mail is j-sell@tamu.edu. You can also call the protocol director, Rolande Dathis, at 281- 394- 5905 or email her at rolandedath@yahoo.com.

For questions about your child's rights as a research participant; or if you have questions, complaints, or concerns about the research, you may call the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program office at (979) 458-4067 or irb@tamu.edu.

What if I Change My Mind About Participating?

This research is voluntary and you have the choice whether or not to allow your child to be in this research study. Your child may decide to not begin or to stop participating at any time.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

The procedures, risks, and benefits of this study have been told to me and I agree to allow my child to be in this study. My questions have been answered. I may ask more questions whenever I want. I do not give up any of my child's or my legal rights by signing this form. A copy of this consent form will be given to me.

Child's Name

Parent/Legal Guardian Signature

Date

Parent/Legal Guardian Signature

Date

INVESTIGATOR'S AFFIDAVIT:

Either I have or my agent has carefully explained to the parent the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who signed this consent form was informed of the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation.

Signature of Presenter

Date

Printed Name

Date

APPENDIX A-3
MINOR ASSENT FORM

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM

MINOR'S ASSENT FORM

Project Title: Haitian identities

You are being asked to join a research study. A research study is a science project that is trying to answer a question. The purpose of this study is to investigate Haitian immigrants' experiences and opinions. You will just be asked questions about how you think about yourself, your friends and your family and your everyday life in school, clubs, and other groups.

You do not have to be in this research study and you can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you don't want to. If you have any questions, you can talk to your parents, or the person talking to you about this form.

If you want to participate in this research study, please sign or print your name.

- () Yes, I will participate in this research study
- () No, I don't want to do this.
- () I want to participate, but I don't want my answers to be recorded.
- () I want to participate, and it is ok for my answers to be recorded.

_____ Minor's Name	_____ Date
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_____ Minor's Signature (<i>if applicable</i>)	_____ Date
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_____ Presenter's Signature	_____ Date
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If signed assent is not obtained, provide the rationale below:

Version Date:



IRB NUMBER: IRB2014-0125
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 03/24/2014
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 03/15/2015

APPENDIX B-1
INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Please introduce me to all the family members. If it is okay, please tell me your age and how or if you are related to each other. What language or languages do family members use to talk to each other?

2. Please think about how you would think about your identities, or the way you think of yourself? When you think about CATEGORIES that you might use to describe yourself to someone, using one-word descriptions, what comes to mind? (For children, how do you answer the question: “who are you?”)

3. Now, please think about how OTHERS might think about your identities or the way they see you. What CATEGORIES do you think people use to describe YOU to others?

4. How do you think of Haiti?

Do you go to Haiti? (Are family members in Haiti?)

Follow-ups: Do you think of Haiti as your country?

Do you belong to special organizations or communities that bring together Haitians?

Are there some values or beliefs that you think are particularly Haitian?
What might these be?

5. How do you think of your race?

How do you think your race affects you, living in the United States? (If you go to Haiti—do you think race is viewed differently in Haiti than in the United States?)

6. What have been your experiences with the following groups in the United States?

Teachers and Schools: (Can you give me some examples within your family) (Children and Parents will probably have different examples)

The Police (Can you give examples of different interactions within your family?)

Medical Doctors or Practitioners

7. Can you think of a recent experience you have had in which you felt you have been discriminated against? Can you tell me a little bit about it?

7. What are some differences that you see between younger members of the family and older members of the family? (This would be a discussion with all)

In terms of:

a. What you think are the most important things about your day-to-day life?

b. Values or Beliefs?

c. Experiences in the United States; Experiences in Haiti?

d. Responsibilities to Other Family Members?

e. Other issues you might want to talk about?

Give out ACT and ask respondent to rate the words.

Mother, Immigrant, Haitian, Baby, Latino, Black, Baseball Player, Father.

Thank you very much. Are there any questions you have for me? Or are there any questions that you think I should ask you, that I haven't asked you?

APPENDIX B-2
CODES AND QUESTIONS

1. Please introduce me to all the family members. If it is ok, please tell me your age and how or if you are related to each other. (List all members). What language or languages do family members use to talk to each other?

Codes: a) age; b) relationship; c) language.

2. Please think about how YOU would think about your identities or the way you think of yourself? When you think about CATEGORIES that you might use to describe yourself to someone, using one-word descriptions, what comes to mind? (For children you might say for example, “who are you?”).

Codes: a) self-description; b) category.

- 3-Now, please think about how OTHERS might think about your identities or the way they see you. What CATEGORIES do you think people use to describe YOU to others?

Codes: a) others' description; b) others' categorization.

4. How do you think of Haiti?

Do you go to Haiti? (Are family members in Haiti?)

Follow-ups: Do you think of Haiti as your country?

Codes: a) affective; b) Haiti visitation; c) living Haiti; d) your country.

Do you belong to special organizations or communities that bring together Haitians?

Code: e) Networking.

Are there some values or beliefs that you think are particularly Haitian? What might these be?

Code: Values.

5. How do you think of your race?

Code: a) Perception of race

How do you think your race affects you, living in the United States? (If you go to Haiti—do you think race is viewed differently in Haiti than in the United States?)

Codes: b) impacts of race; c) Haiti and United States in race.

6. What have been your experiences with the following groups in the United States?

Teachers and Schools: (Can you give me some examples within your family) (Children and Parents will probably have different examples).

The Police (Can you give examples of different interactions within your family?)

Medical Doctors or Practitioners

Codes: a) experiences teachers; b) experiences schools; c) experiences police; d) experiences medical doctors.

7. Can you think of a recent experience you have had in which you felt you have been discriminated against? Can you tell me a little bit about it?

Code: a) discrimination. b) préjudice.

8. What are some differences that you see between younger members of the family and older members of the family? (This would be a discussion with all)

In terms of:

a. What you think are the most important things about your day-to-day life

b. Values or Beliefs

c. Experiences in the United States; Experiences in Haiti

d. Responsibilities to Other Family Members

e. Other issues you might want to talk about?

Codes: a) differences younger vs. older; b) assimilation; c) US experiences; d) Haiti experiences; e) extended family obligations; f) day to day life, g) values, h) beliefs., i) other issues.

APPENDIX B-3

FLYER

Research Study On Haitian Identities



You and your family are invited to talk
about your experiences as Haitians
living in the USA.

Your story could be important for our
understanding of how your experiences in
the United States, in particular in Florida,
have impacted family life.

Please call Ms. Rolande Dorancy Dathis
at
(832) 775-6259
if you would like to participate.

Ms. Dathis has experience working with Haitian immigrants in
Florida and New York.



IRB NUMBER: IRB2014-0125
IRB APPROV DATE;03/24/2014
IRB EXPIRATION DATE:

APPENDIX C

31 FAMILIES INTERVIEWED

FAMILY: Pretest

LOCATION: Katy, Ford Bend County, TX

DATE: Saturday, April 4, 2014 at 9:00 p.m.

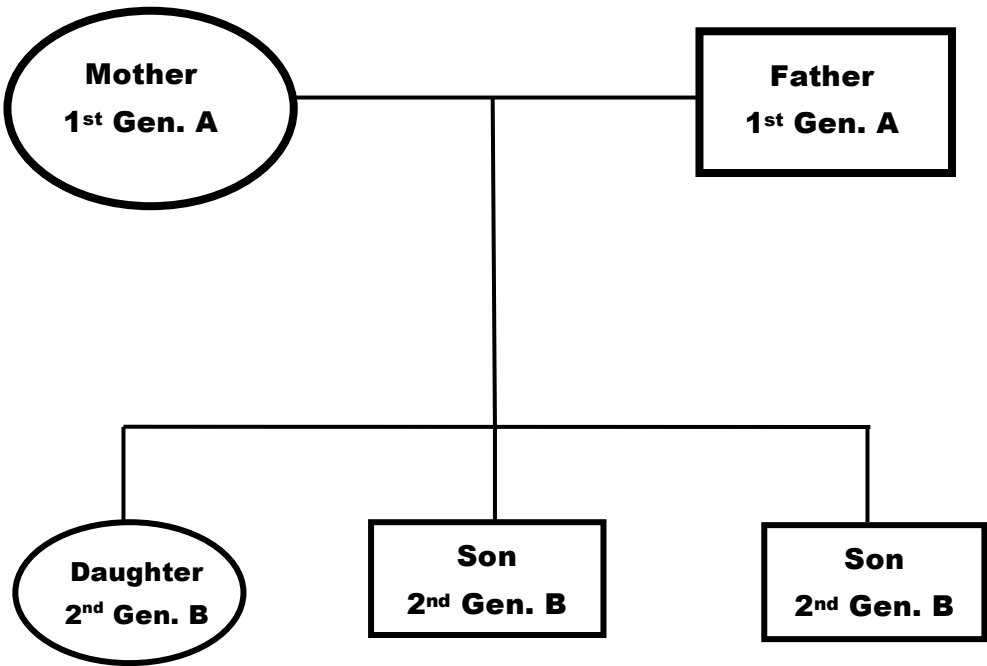
DURATION: 30:11

The researcher and the family met in a quiet family room and sat around a round table. The audio recorder was on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. The room had high ceilings and was very spacious. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. All phones were put on vibration.

The father is a 46-year-old first generation A who arrived in the United States (U.S.) in the 1980s and works as a business consultant. The mother is a 46-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and is a registered nurse. The daughter is a 17-year-old second generation B, and is in the 12th grade in high school. The first son is an 18-year-old second generation B and was unable to participate due to a speech and language impairment. The second son is a 15-year-old second generation B, and is in the 10th grade in high school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Family: Pretest



FAMILY 1: Dade County

LOCATION: North Miami, FL 33151

DATE: Tuesday, April 15, 2014 at 4:19 p.m.

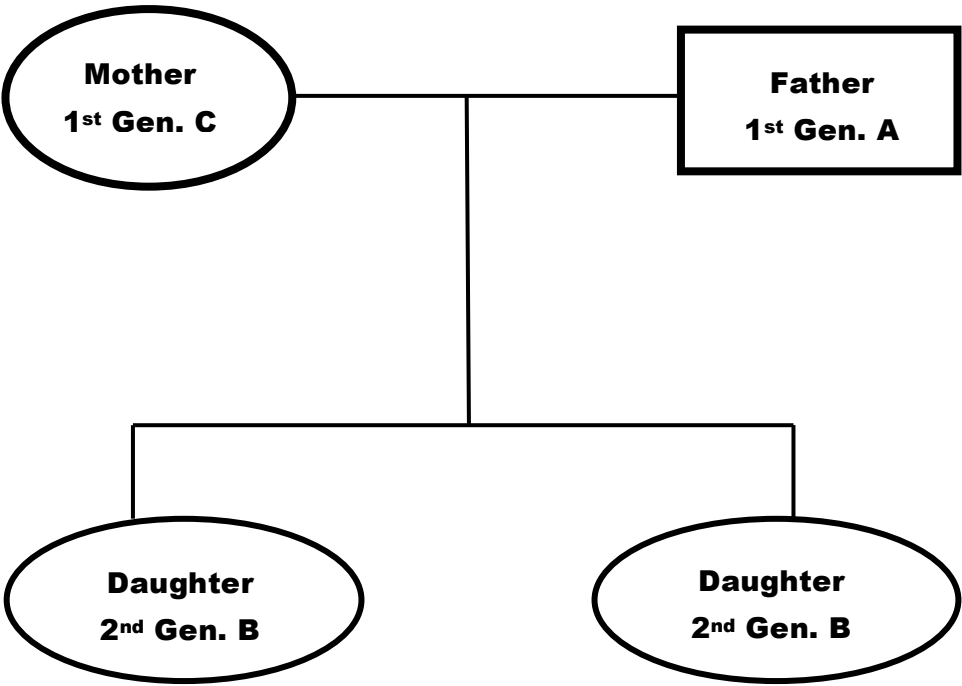
DURATION: 37:18

The researcher and a family of 4 met at a hair salon inside the residence of the family. The room smelled of a variety of unusual scents: such as shampoos, conditioners, hair dye, hair relaxers, and a heavy smell of the blow dryer. The salon was well organized and very clean. There, the researcher was invited to sit in a salon chair to conduct the interview.

The father is a 63-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s. He is retired from work due to illness. The mother is a 48-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a hair stylist. Their daughter is an 18-year-old second generation B who was born in the U.S. and is in the 12th grade in high school.

The interview was conducted in Creole with the parents and grandmother and in English with the daughter. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted twice due to a disturbing noise generated by the blow dryer. Besides the daughter, who was tired and had just come from school, everyone else spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured.

Dade County: Family 1D



FAMILY 2: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami, FL 33161

DATE: Monday, May 5, 2014 at 7:00 p.m.

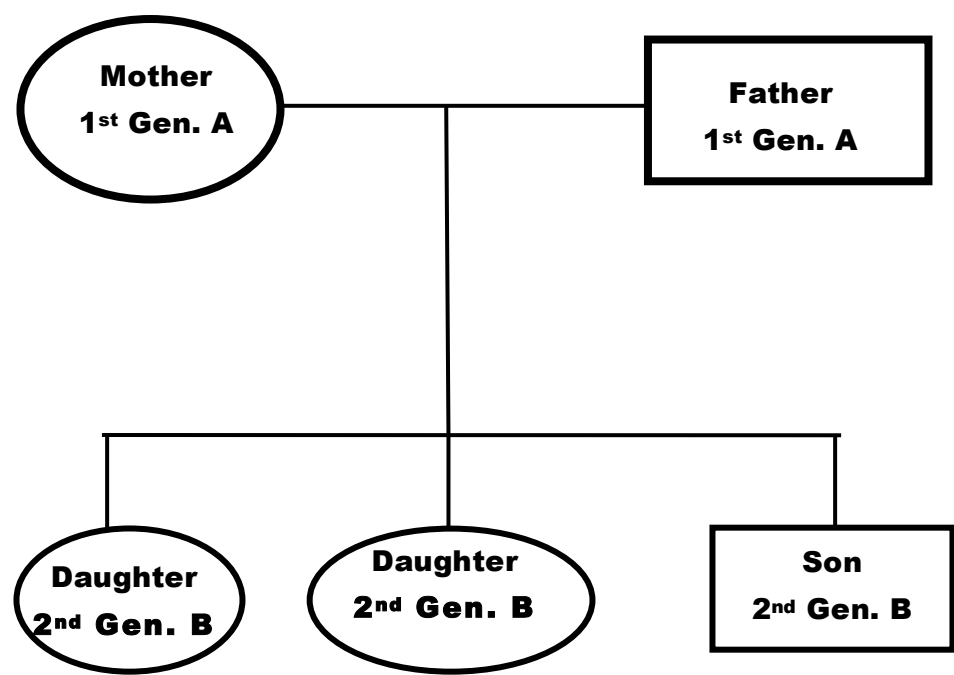
DURATION: 35 minutes

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table at the family home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. However, it was noisy because children were playing all around the home.

The father is a 59-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s. He is retired from work due to illness. The mother is a 54-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and now works as a nursing assistant. The daughter is a 28-year-old second generation B and is currently working as an administrator. The second daughter is a 25-year-old second generation B and is a nurse. The son is an 18-year-old second generation B and is in the 12th grade in high school.

The interview was conducted in Creole with the parents and in English with the children. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted several times due to noises coming from children laughing and playing. Notes taken on a notebook were added into the transcription.

Dade County: Family 2D



FAMILY 3: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami, FL 33162

DATE: Thursday, May 8, 2014 at 5:28 p.m.

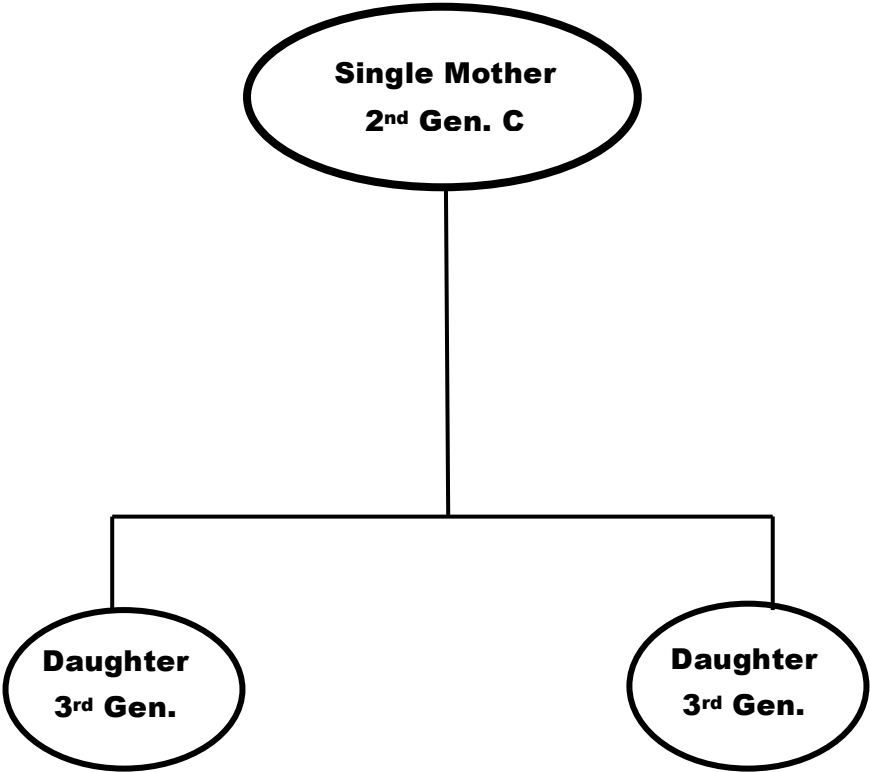
DURATION: 18:47

The researcher and the family met at Jomareg Health Services, Inc in Miramar. The audio recorder and laptop were on a desk in the office of the administrator. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The mother is a 54-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, and is a single mother currently working as a medical assistant. The daughter is an 18-year-old third generation who is in the 12th grade in high school. The oldest daughter is a 19-year-old college student and was not available to participate in the interview.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: Family 3D



FAMILY 4: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami Gardens, FL 33179

DATE: Tuesday, May 13, 2014 at 7:43 P.M.

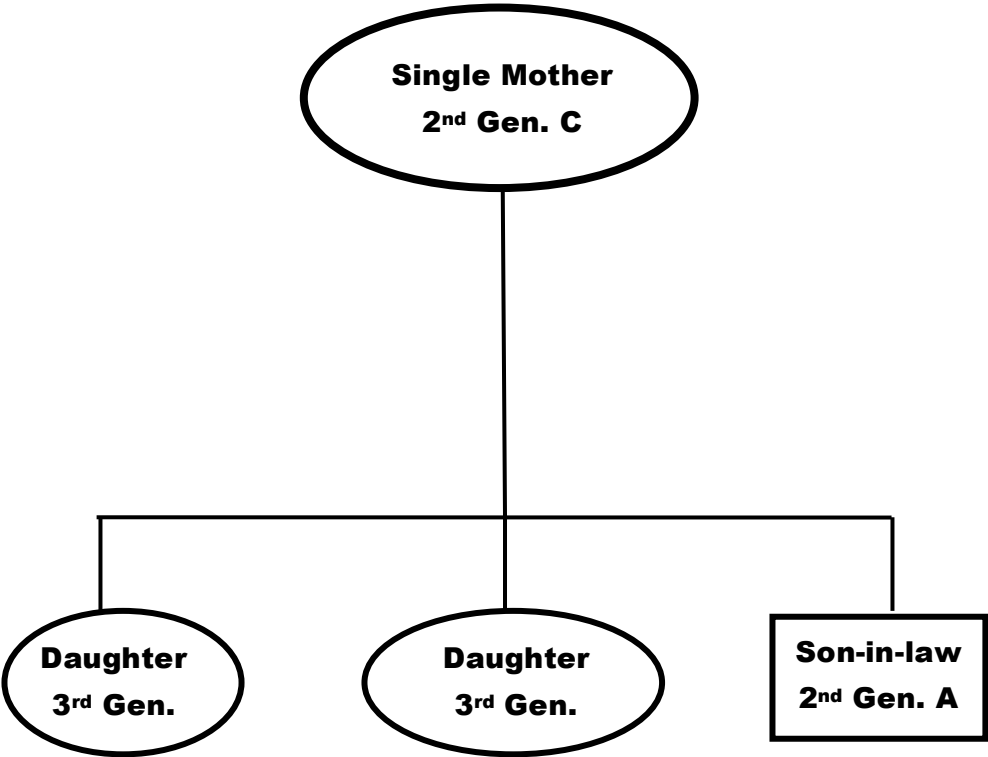
DURATION: 22:01

The researcher met with the family in their home. The family had a young child; and, therefore, there were a couple of toys in the living room and the television was on to occupy the child while the interview was taking place. Overall, the atmosphere was quite simple and without too many decorations. The researcher was invited to sit at the dining table and offered food and drink by the mother. The researcher politely declined and prompted to begin the interview instead.

The mother is a 53-year-old second generation C who is a single mother working as a nursing assistant. The son-in-law is a 28-year-old second generation A who is a computer technician. The first daughter is a 28-year-old third generation who is married to the technician and works as a beautician. The second daughter is a 23-year-old third generation and a senior in college.

The interview was conducted in Creole and in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted twice due to a disturbing noise generated by the blow dryer. Besides the daughter, who was tired and had just come from school, everyone else spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured.

Dade County: Family 4D



FAMILY 5: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami Gardens, FL 33056

DATE: Wednesday, May 14, 2014 at 6:09 p.m.

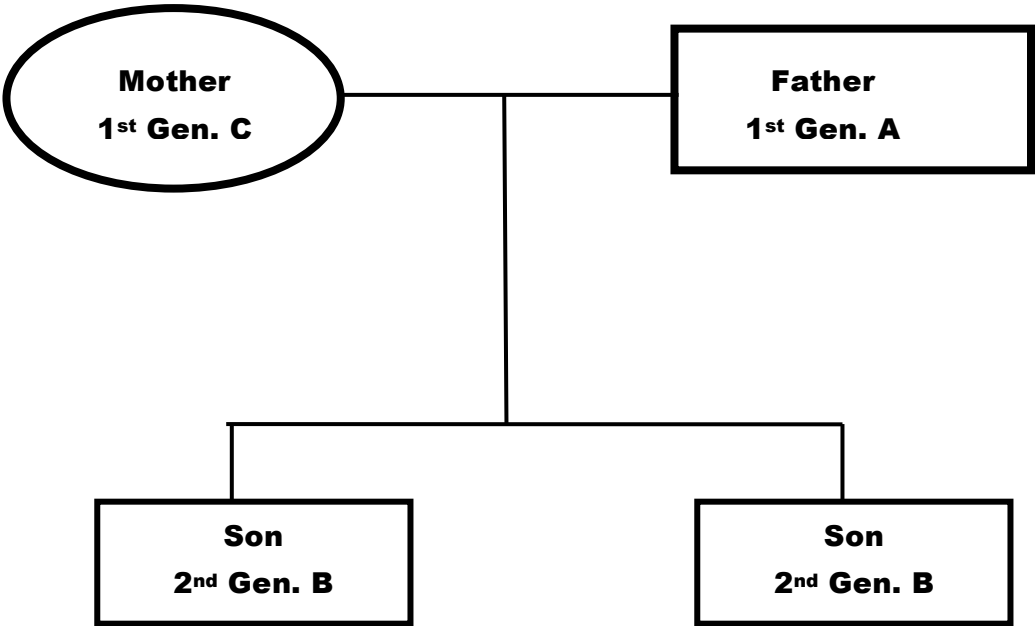
DURATION: 22:40

The interview took place in this family's home. There was no air conditioning in the home, and it was very dense and hot. Nevertheless, the interview went on as planned. The researcher was invited to sit in the family room and that is where the interview took place.

The father is a 60-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is currently working as a waiter in a restaurant. The mother is a 48-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and is presently a hotel housekeeper. The first son is a 17-year-old second generation B and is currently an 11th grader in high school. The second son is a 15-year-old second generation B and is presently a 9th grader in high school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: FAMILY 5D



FAMILY 6: Dade County

LOCATION: North Miami, FL 33161

DATE: Friday, May 16, 2014 at 7:59 p.m.

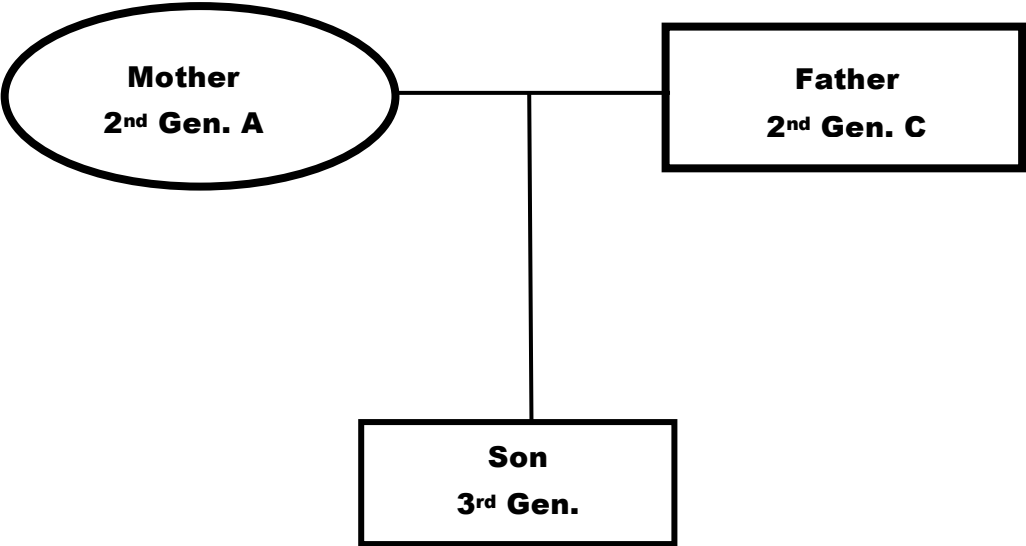
DURATION: 40:40

The researcher met with the family in their home. The family received the researcher in their living room. The home was very clean, neat, and quiet, with the smell of an apple cinnamon scented candle. There were frames and pictures of the family covering the walls and on every table. The researcher spoke with the son and the husband briefly while the wife was in the kitchen. The wife appeared with some beverages and a plate of hors d'oeuvres, inviting everyone to the table. The interview began freely and the food and drink worked well as an icebreaker.

The father is a 71-year-old second generation C who is a retired diplomat. The mother is a 63-year-old second generation A who is a nurse. The son is a 33-year-old third generation who holds a Master's in Business Administration.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured.

Dade County: Family 6D



FAMILY 7: Dade County

LOCATION: Palmetto Bay, FL 33157

DATE: Saturday, May 17, 2014 at 8:40 p.m.

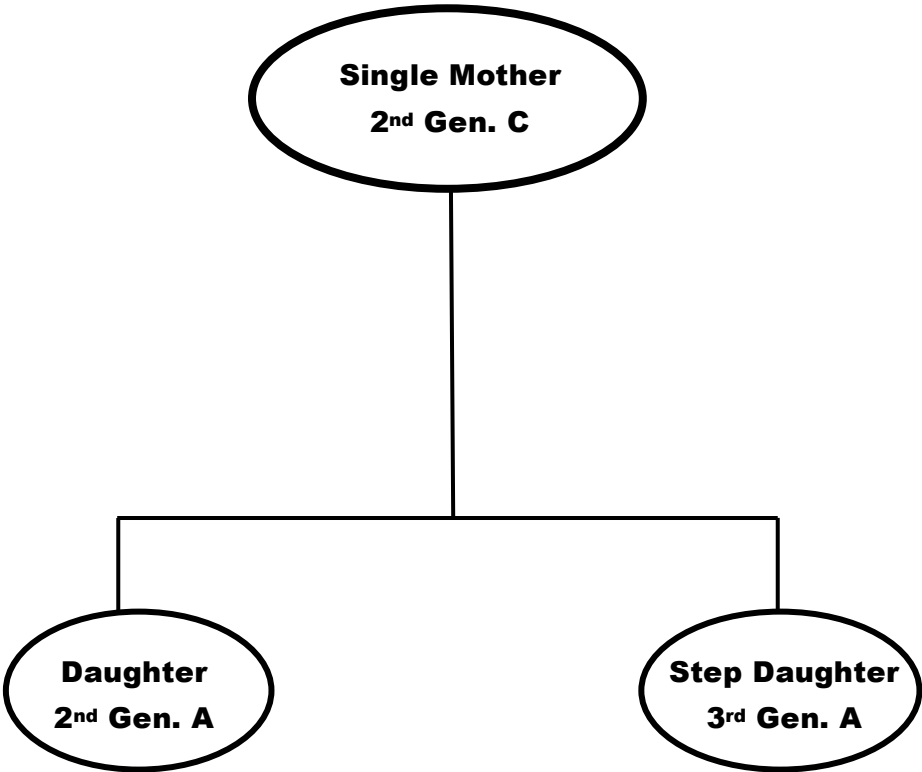
DURATION: 25:42

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table at the interviewed sister's home. The audio recorder and the laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The mother is a 57-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a single mother presently working as a pharmacist. The daughter is a 29-year-old second generation A, and is a lawyer who was born in Canada and grew up in the U.S. The stepdaughter, also a second generation A, is a first-year medical student.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: Family 7D



FAMILY 8: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami, FL 33168

DATE: Sunday, May 18, 2014 at 1:21 p.m.

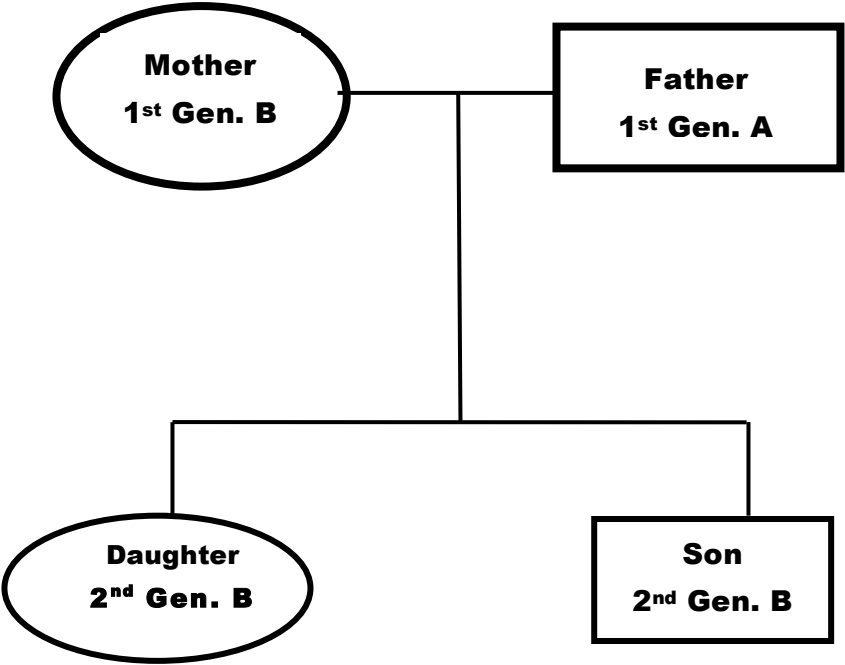
DURATION: 1:48:52

The researcher met with this family in their home. Upon arrival, the wife had set up the dining-room table with different types of dishes and invited the researcher to eat with them. The interview was taken around the table while they ate. The table had been beautifully set, and all of the food that was laid out made it possible for everyone to feel comfortable and participate at ease and in their normal habitat.

The father is a 59-year-old first generation A who is a school-bus driver. The mother is a 55-year-old first generation B and is a certified elementary school teacher. The daughter is a 25-year-old second generation B who is a senior in college. The son is a 23-year-old second generation B who is a certified teacher and currently working as such.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured.

Dade County: Family 8D



FAMILY 9: Dade County

LOCATION: North Miami Beach, FL 33162

DATE: Tuesday, May 20, 2014 at 2:40 p.m.

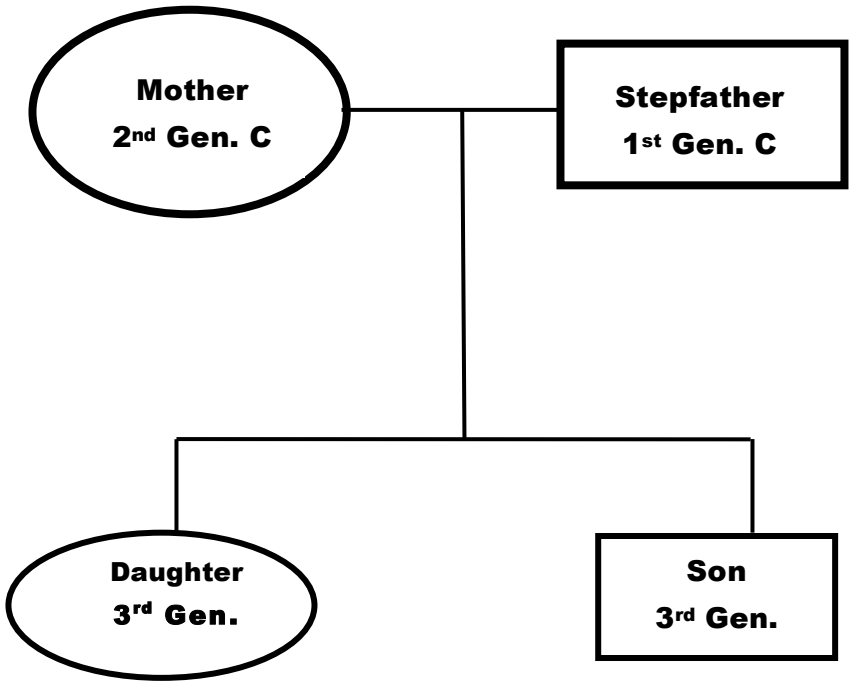
DURATION: 52:06

The researcher met with this family in their parents' home. There were boxes in the home due to some redecorating on the wife's part. When the researcher arrived, the daughter was on her way from a dentist appointment, so the researcher waited 30 minutes and discussed with the parents the reason for this interview. The son is the father of a child with a mental disability, which causes both the son and daughter to walk away from the interview at times to check on the son or to put him at ease when restless. The son had the television open in the room adjoining the living room, which caused some outbursts from the child from time to time. Nevertheless, the interview took place as planned with very few interruptions.

The stepfather is a 64-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is an electrician. The mother is a 54-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and is currently working as a dialysis technician. The son is a 35-year-old third generation and works as an administrator. The daughter is a 37-year-old third generation who is a lawyer.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: Family 9D



FAMILY 10: Dade County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33169

DATE: Wednesday, May 21, 2014 at 5:20 p.m.

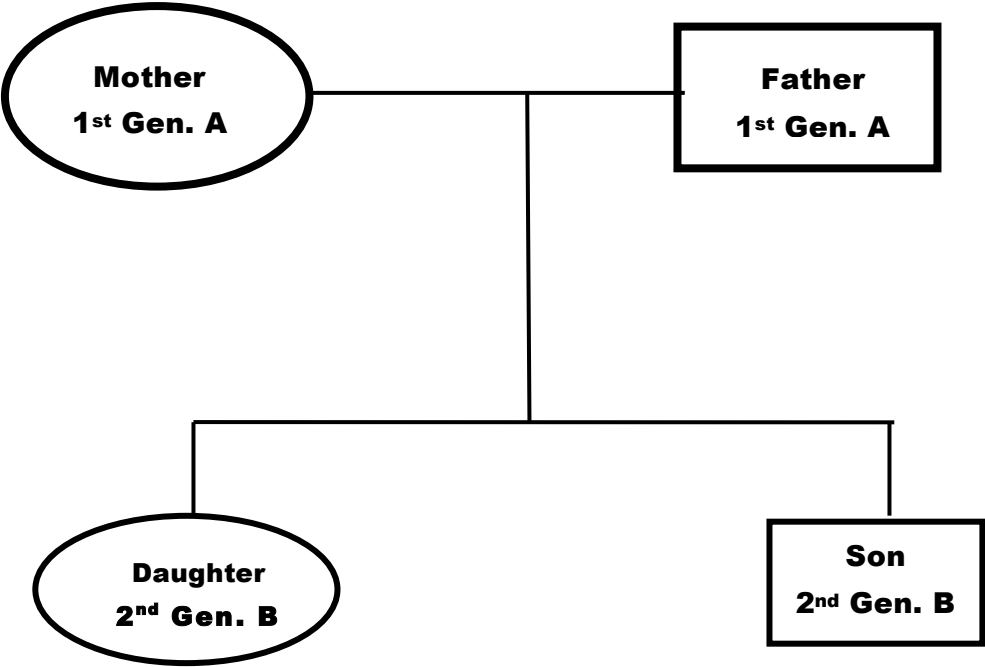
DURATION: 36:27

The researcher and the family met in the living room and sat around a round table at the family's home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The father is a 62-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and presently works as a paralegal. The mother is a 60-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and works as a medical assistant. The son is a 23-year-old second generation B and is a college student. The daughter is a 25-year-old second generation B and is a third-year law student.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: Family 10D



FAMILY 11: Dade County

LOCATION: Miami, FL 33162

DATE: Wednesday, May 21, 2014 AT 8:36 P.M.

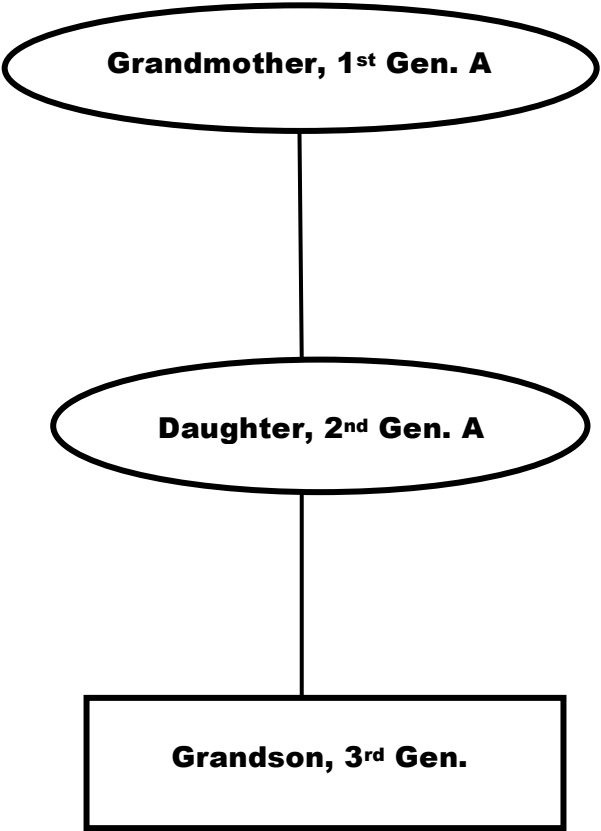
DURATION: 13:32

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table at the family's home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The mother is a 67-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s. She is a widow who works at a gas station. The daughter is a 33-year-old second generation A who works as a pharmacy technician. The grandson is a 13-year-old third generation and is in 8th grade in middle school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information related to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Dade County: Family 11D



FAMILY 1: Broward County

LOCATION: Hollywood, FL 33020

DATE: Tuesday, May 5, 2014 at 6:43 p.m.

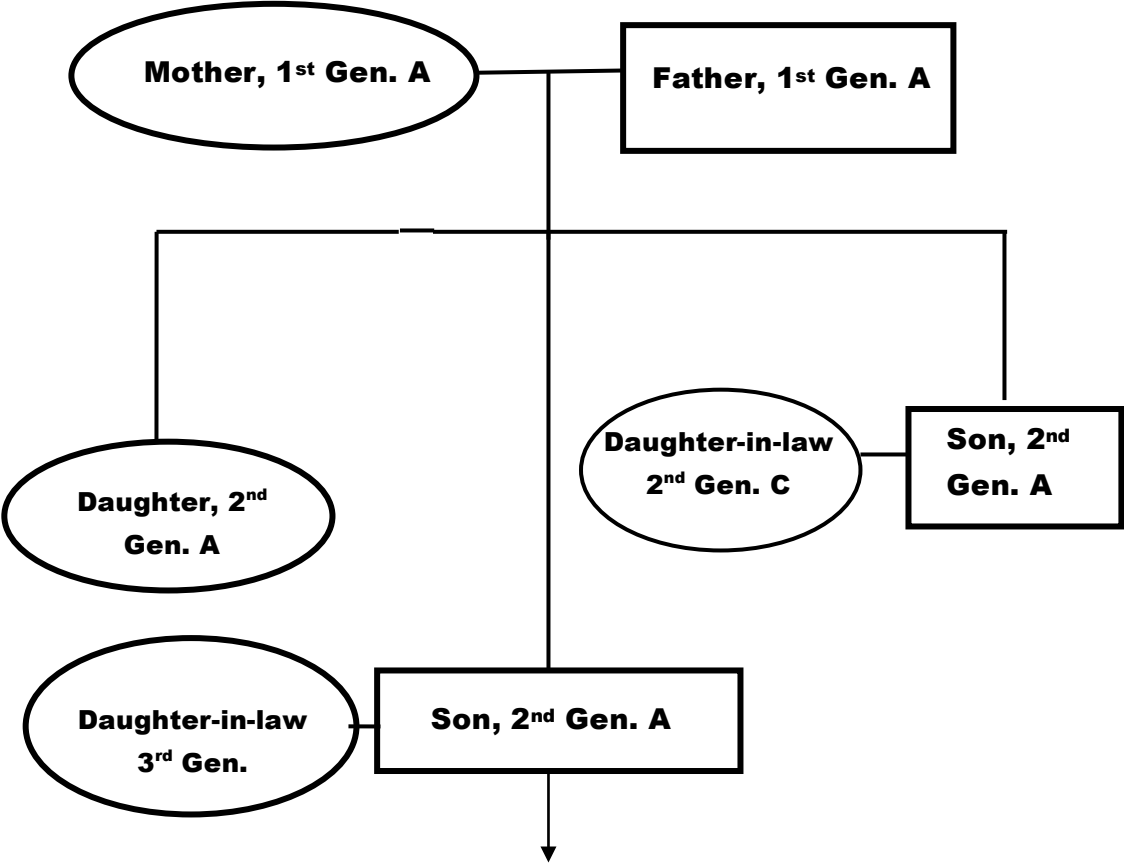
DURATION: 29 minutes

The researcher and the family met in the family room and sat around a round table at the family's home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. However, an unexpected phone call caused a little disturbance for 5 minutes.

The father, a first generation A, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is retired from work and volunteers at a church. The mother, also a first generation A, arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is a nursing assistant. The son, a second generation A, is an engineer. The daughter-in-law, a second generation C, is a pharmacy technician. The other daughter-in-law, a third generation, is a physical therapist. The daughter, a second generation A, is an administrator.

The interview was conducted in Creole with the parents and in English with the children. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted once due to noise coming from an unexpected phone call.

Broward County: Family 1B



Unable to participate due to work

FAMILY 2: Broward County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33023

DATE: Wednesday, May 7, 2014 at 7:13 p.m.

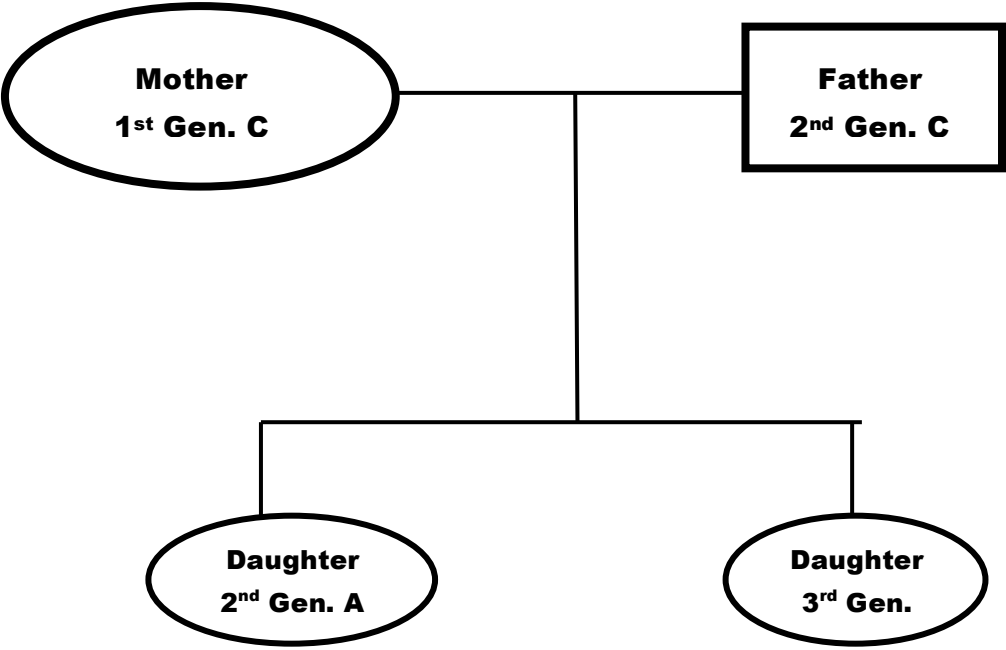
DURATION: 32:21

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table at the family's home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The father, a second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a medical doctor who was absent from the interview due to work. The mother is a 44-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and is a foreign medical doctor. The daughter is a 15-year-old second generation A and is in the 10th grade in high school. The second daughter, a third generation, is in the 8th grade in middle school, and was unable to participate due to IRB requirements for participation.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 2B



Unable to participate due to age

FAMILY 3: Broward County

LOCATION: Pembroke Pines, FL 33157

DATE: Wednesday, May 7, 2014 at 10:31 p.m.

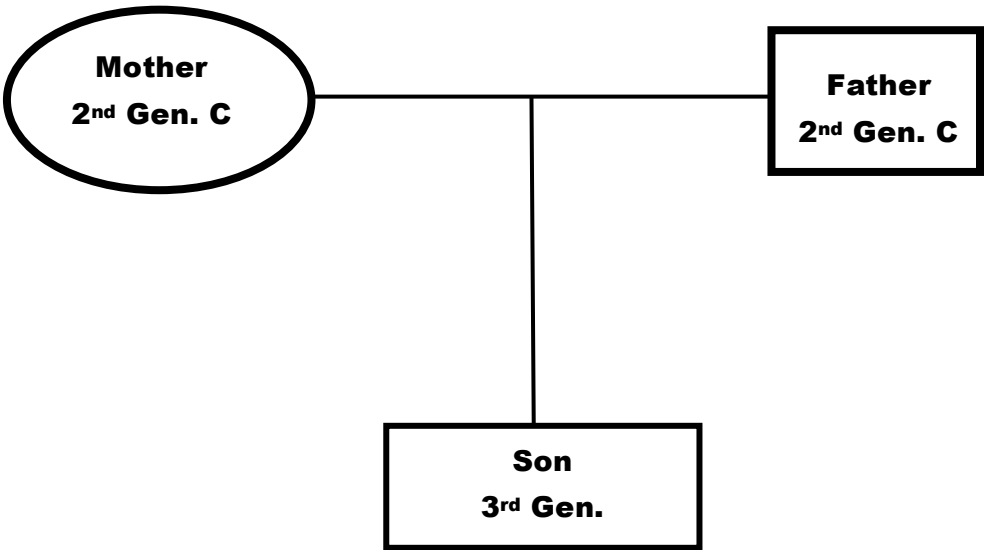
DURATION: 28:05

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table at the interviewer's sister's home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The father is a 47-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is an entrepreneurial engineer. The mother is a 46-year-old second generation C and is a dietician and nutritionist. The son, who is a 12-year-old third generation, is a homeschooled 7th grader.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 3B



FAMILY 4: Broward County

LOCATION: Hollywood, FL 33020

DATE: Monday, May 12, 2014 at 6:26 p.m.

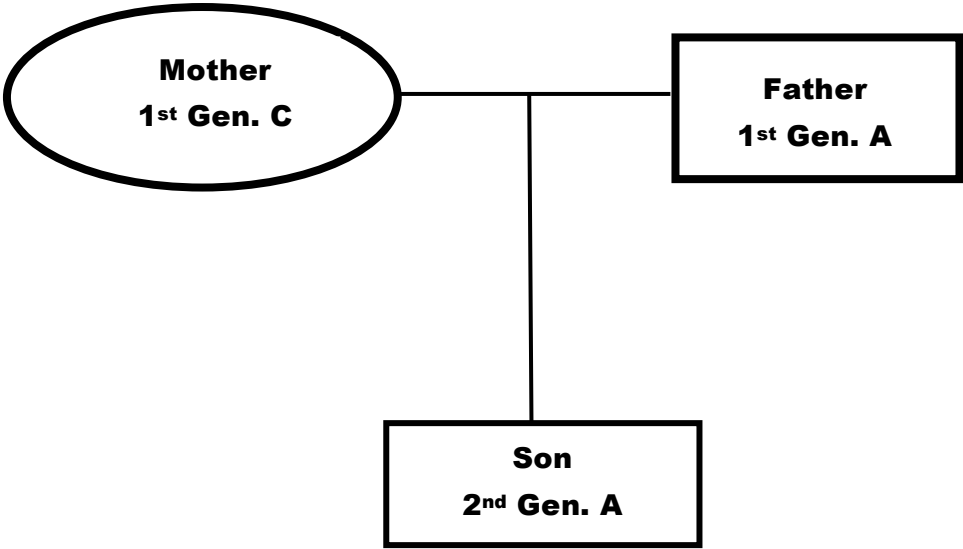
DURATION: 43:21

The researcher met with the family in their home. They apparently recently purchased a dining room set and chairs and the finish had a rotten smell to it. Because of this situation, they were undecided regarding having me in their home. However, I was finally invited to visit. The interior décor of the house consisted of many different colors and patterns that show the cheerful Caribbean atmospheres. The family was very responsive and attentive to the researcher's questions.

The father, a 70-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, presently works as a medical assistant. The mother, a 55-year-old first generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, is a nursing assistant. The son is a 33-year-old 2nd generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and works as a lawyer.

The interview was conducted in Creole with the parents and in English with the son. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

Broward County: Family 4B



FAMILY 5: Broward County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33025

DATE: Wednesday, May 14, 2014 at 3:16 p.m.

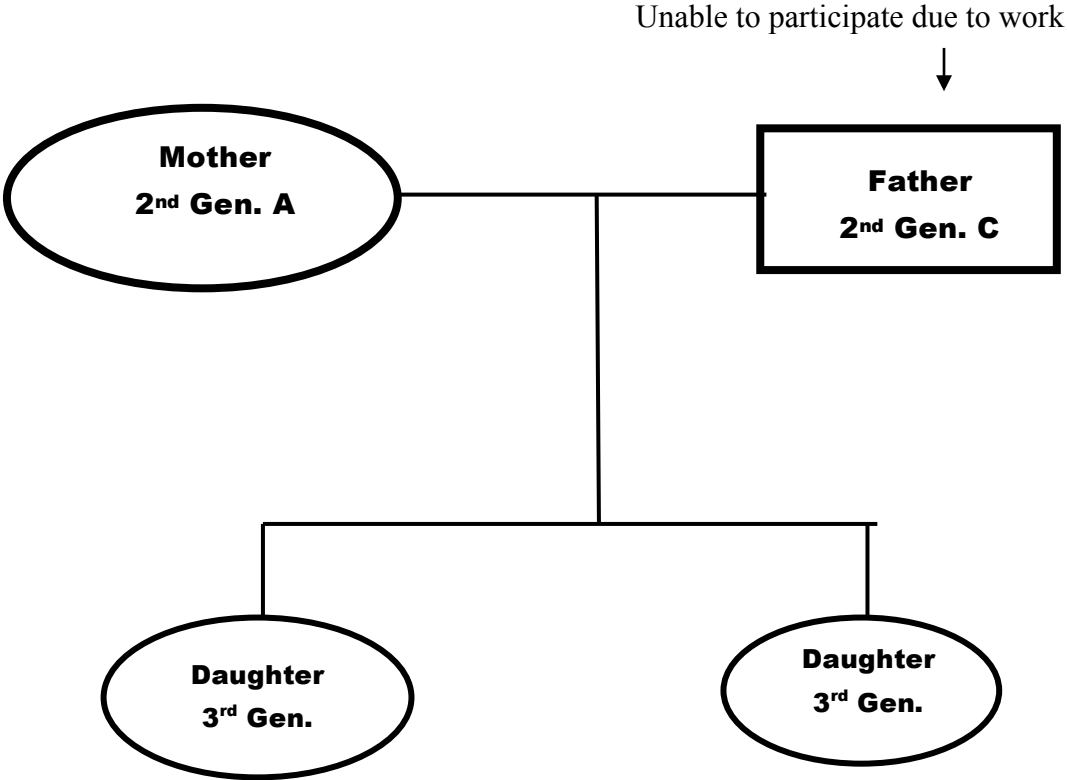
DURATION: 16:57

The researcher and the family met in a quiet living room. The audio recorder was on the round table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. The room had high ceilings and was very spacious. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. All phones were put on vibration.

The father, a second generation C who was not present because of work, is a paralegal. The mother is a 45-year-old second generation A who arrived in the U.S. at the age of 17 and works as a nurse. The first daughter is a 22-year-old third generation who is a senior in college. The second daughter is a 17-year-old third generation who is a 12th grader in high school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information related to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 5B



FAMILY 6: Broward County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33025

DATE: Thursday, May 15, 2014 at 5:05 p.m.

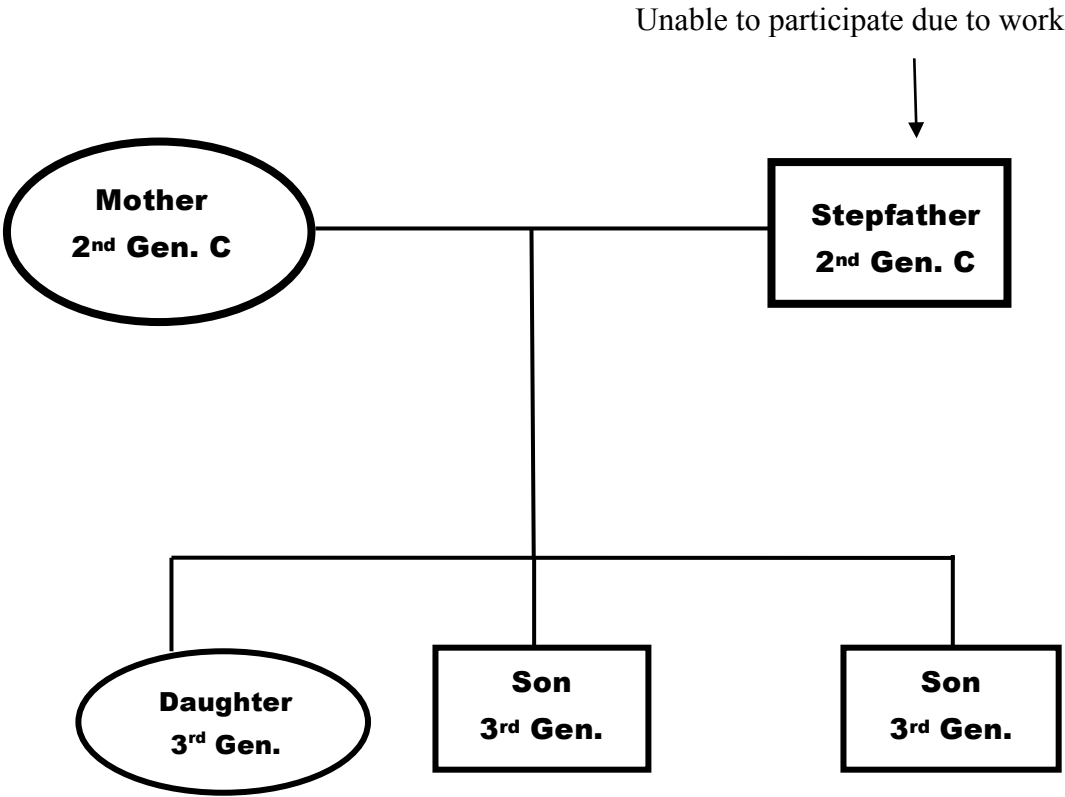
DURATION: 20:52

The researcher met with the family at their home. The mother, who is a nurse, was getting ready to go to work when the researcher arrived. The younger children were playing outside; and inside, there were two older women having a discussion. The son indicated that one had been his nanny when he was a child and the other was his estranged grandmother. They did not take part in the interview. The house was quite clean and organized with very few decorations. The researcher sat at the dining table waiting on the mother for a few minutes before she was ready to begin.

The mother is a 51-year-old second generation C who is a nurse. The stepfather, also a second generation C, is a bus driver and was at work. The son is an 18-year-old third generation who is in 12th grade in high school. The two other children are in elementary school and were unable to participate because of their age.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 6B



**Two children were unable to participate due to their ages.

FAMILY 7: Broward County

LOCATION: South West Ranch, FL 33331

DATE: Friday, May 16, 2014 at 6:08 p.m.

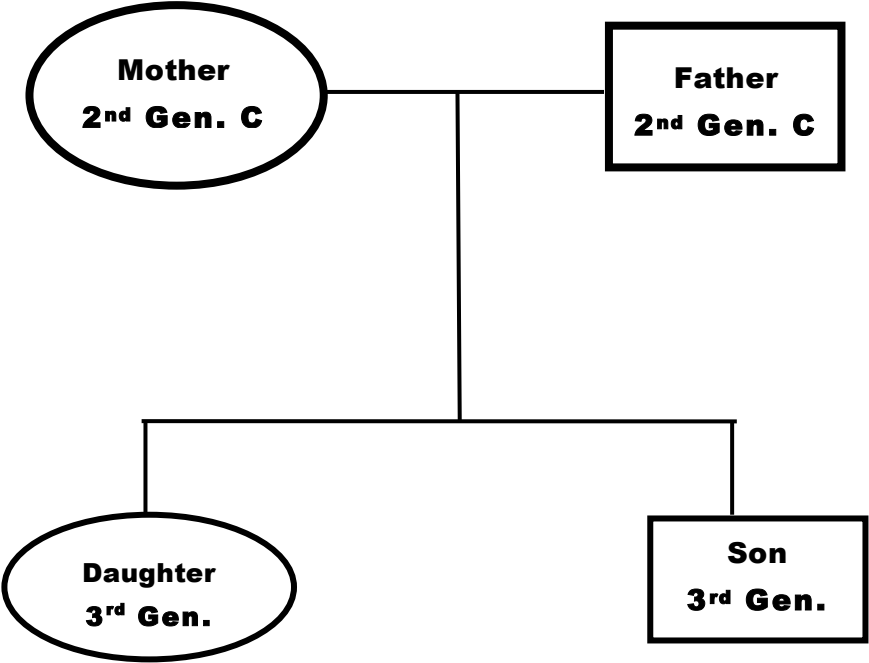
DURATION: 24:22

The researcher met with the family in their home. The wife offered the researcher something to drink and the researcher accepted a glass of water. The house had a nice and refreshing scent as if there had been cleaning done recently. The researcher sat at the dining table with the family to begin the interview. The family's youngest child is 3 and was given a computer game to occupy her; but, at times, she made a bit of noise during the interview. However, this did not necessarily have a great impact on the clarity of the audio or the response of the other family members.

The father is a 46-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s, though born in Canada, and is a civil engineer. The mother is a 44-year-old second generation C who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and is an executive banker. The son is a 16-year-old third generation and is in the 10th grade in high school. The daughter is a 13-year-old third generation and is in 9th grade in high school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 7B



FAMILY 8: Broward County

LOCATION: Coral Springs, FL 33065

DATE: Saturday, May 17, 2014 AT 5:18 p.m.

DURATION: 20:02

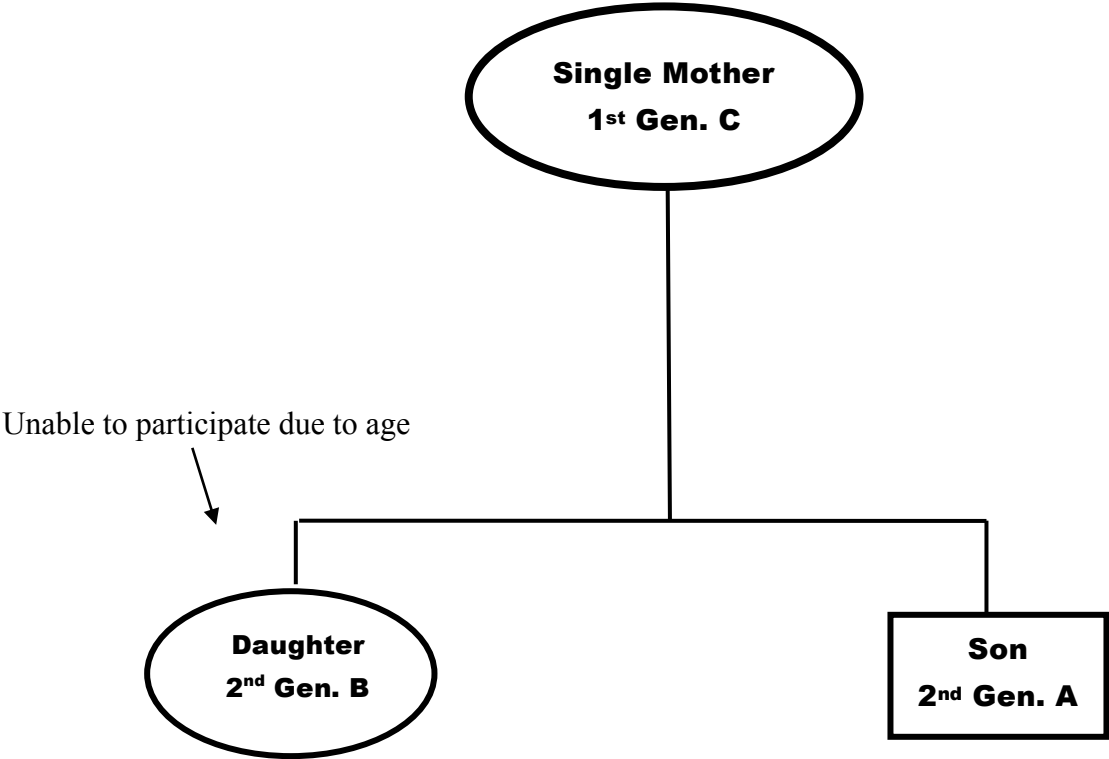
The interviewer and the interviewees met at a restaurant to share a meal. The question guideline was followed in a conversational manner. As the interview was discussed, the server talked with each of us in order to attend to serving the meal. There was a low hum throughout the restaurant from all the different conversations taking place. The restaurant was busy but not overly loud or intrusive.

The dishes and glasses clinked in the background as they were gathered and passed out to other restaurant patrons. Many different pleasant smells wafted through the restaurant as the meals were cooked and served. Occasionally, the sounds of the food sizzling and the pots and pans clanking were heard as the meals were prepared. The cash register dinged as it opened and closed, and the owners' pleasant "hellos" and "goodbyes" were constantly intermixed with everything. As we talked and ate, our attention was focused on each other and the interview. However, we had to pause several times.

The mother is a widowed 50-year-old first generation C who works as a nursing assistant. The son is a 15-year-old second generation A and is in the 10th grade in high school. The daughter, a 9-year old second generation B who was born in the U.S., was not qualified to participate in the interview because of the age requirement.

The interview was conducted in Creole and in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 8B



FAMILY 9: Broward County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33020

DATE: Tuesday, May 20, 2014 at 6:52 p.m.

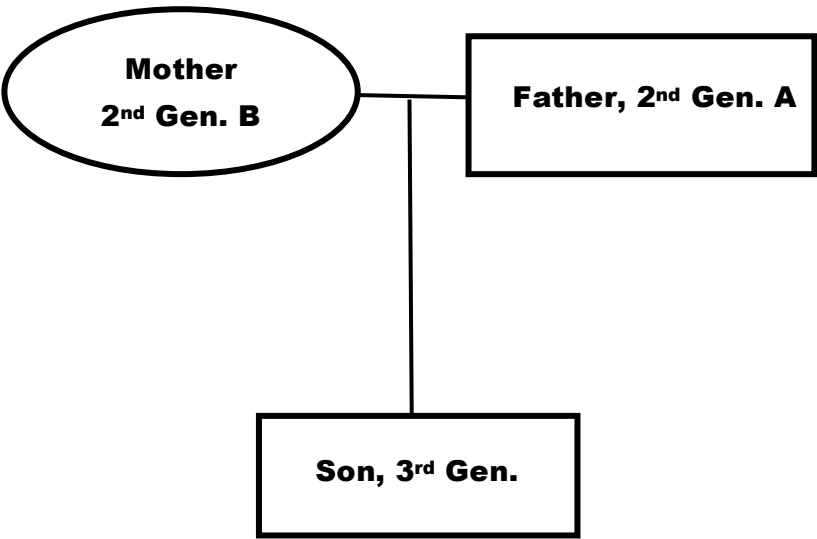
DURATION: 1:48:52

The interview took place in the family's home. Upon arrival, the wife had already set up the dining room table with a few snacks and refreshments. She invited the researcher to sit down as they awaited the son's arrival. The home was quite tidy; there was a fresh scent and cold breeze inside. The family sat on the dining chairs and ate a variety of snacks as the interview took place.

The father is a 61-year-old second generation A who is a college professor. The mother is a 66-year-old second generation B and works as a school administrator. The son is a 30-year-old third generation who also works as a college professor.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured.

Broward County: Family 9B



FAMILY 10: Broward County

LOCATION: Miramar, FL 33027

DATE: Tuesday, May 20, 2014 at 9:54 p.m.

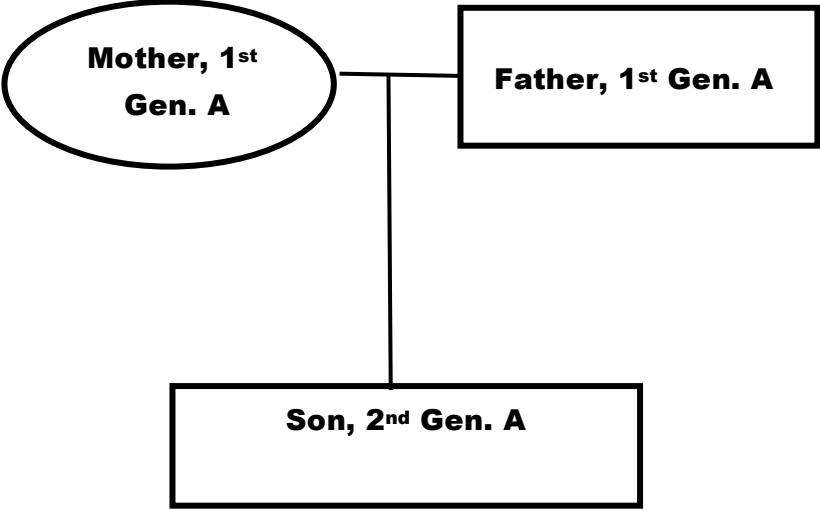
DURATION: 36:48

The researcher and the family met in the dining room and sat around a round table. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The father is a 64-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1990s and is a technician. The mother is a 58-year-old first generation A and is a nurse. The son is a 35-year-old second generation A who was born in Canada and works with his mother.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Broward County: Family 10B



FAMILY 1: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Seffner, FL 33584

DATE: Saturday, May 24, 2014 at 3:14 p.m.

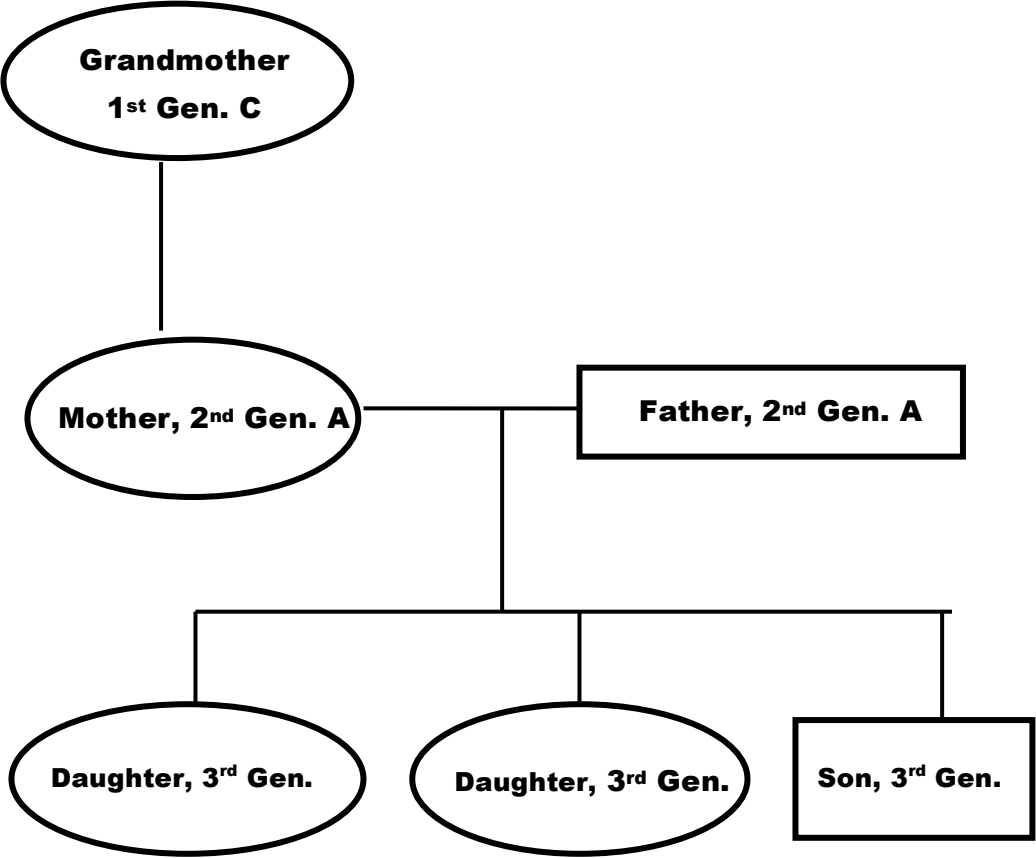
DURATION: 33:43

The researcher met with the family at their home. The family was very open and suggested the interview take place outside, where it was bright. The researcher sat with all six family members, including the grandmother, on the veranda under a ceiling fan. With the breeze in the air and the smell of nature in the open environment, the interview was conducted at ease and the family members were very responsive.

The father is a 44-year-old second generation A who is a computer technician. The mother is a 40-year-old second generation A who is a physical therapist. The grandmother is an 80-year-old first generation C and is a retired widow. The first daughter is a 20-year-old third generation who is a junior in college. The second daughter is an 18-year-old third generation who is in the 12th grade in high school. The son is a 12-year-old third generation, and is a 7th grader in middle school.

The interview was conducted in Creole with the grandmother and in English with the rest of the family. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 1H



FAMILY 2: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Miami FL 33161

DATE: Saturday, May 24, 2014 at 5:27 P.M.

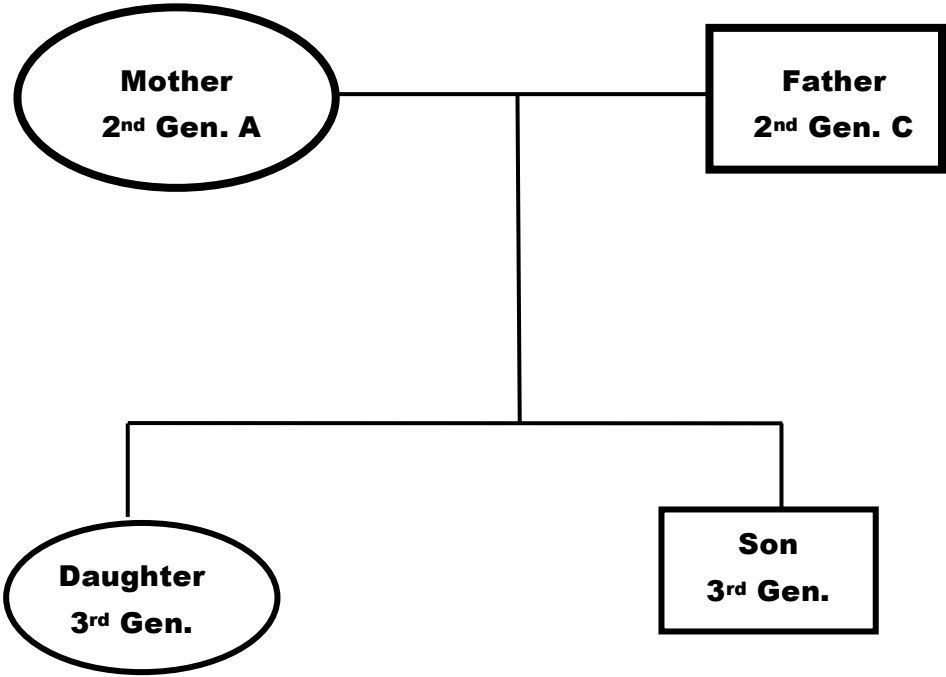
DURATION: 57:27

The researcher and the family met in the family room and sat around a round table at their home. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise. However, an unexpected phone call caused a little disturbance for 2 minutes.

The father is a 55-year-old second generation C who is a medical doctor. The mother is a 45-year-old second generation A and is a nurse. The son is an 18-year-old in the third generation, and is in 12th grade in high school. The daughter is a 13-year-old third generation and is in 8th grade in middle school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted once due to noise coming from an unexpected phone call.

Hillsborough County: Family 2H



FAMILY 3: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Riverview, FL 33579

DATE: Saturday, May 24, 2014 at 7:20 P.M.

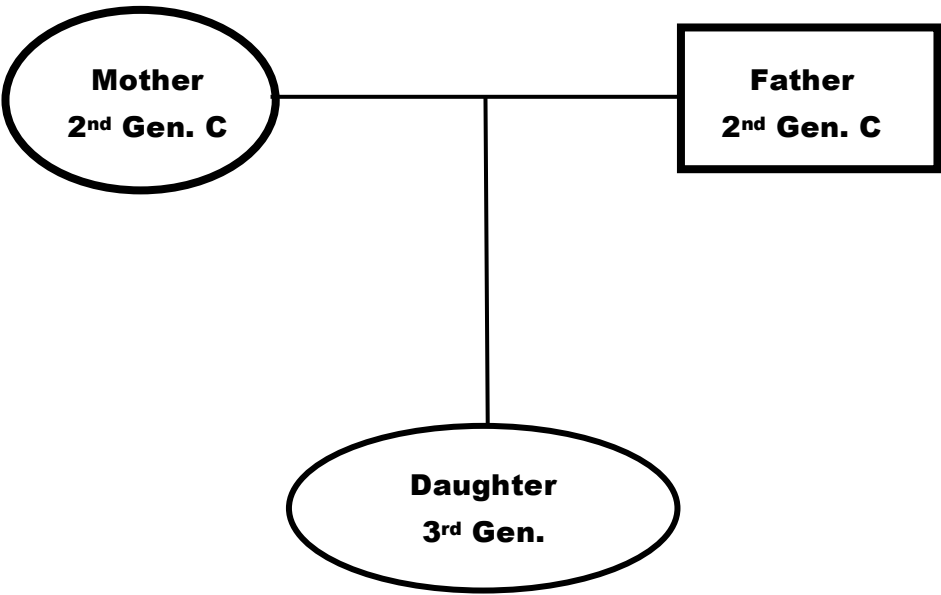
DURATION: 22:25

The researcher met with the family in their home. The husband invited the researcher to pray with them, as it was the end of a Sabbath day. The researcher accepted and took part in the family's prayer. Then, they proceeded to sit in the dining room. The parents called for their two children to do the interview. The older child, who had agreed to participate at first, refused to take part and walked away. He even made a point to leave the house so that his parents would not convince him to stay. The parents seemed embarrassed and apologetic. The researcher brushed it off, but it had soured the mood in the beginning. However, once the interview started, it was easy for everyone to relax.

The father is a 56-year-old second generation C who is a nursing assistant. The mother is a 47-year-old second generation C, and is a licensed practical nurse. The daughter is a third generation who is in 12th grade.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 3H



FAMILY 4: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Riverview, FL 33579

DATE: Saturday, May 24, 2014 at 8:09 P.M.

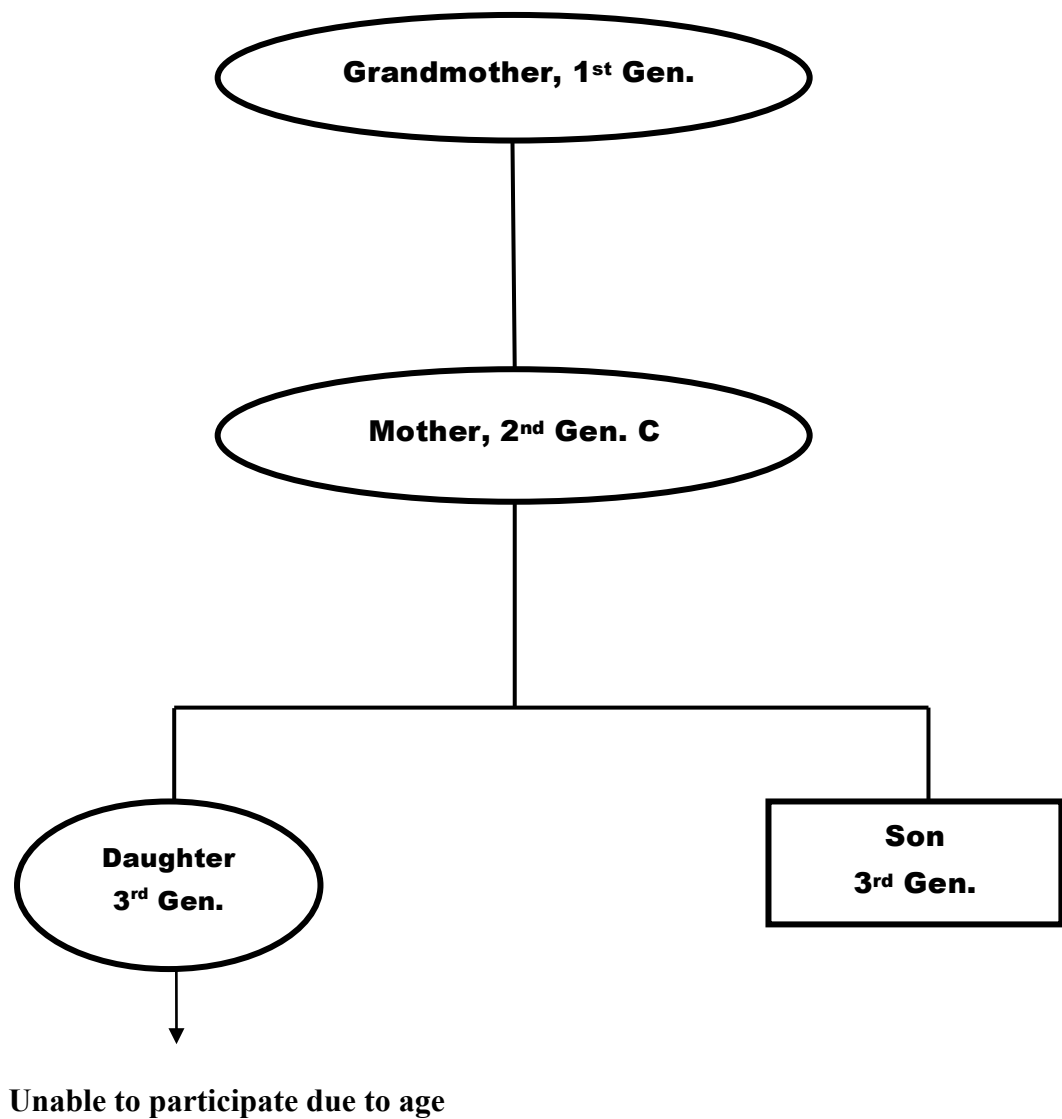
DURATION: 22:59

The researcher met with the family in their home. The husband could not be present for the interview because he had to work. The younger daughter was eager to participate in the interview, but, unfortunately, she was too young. The researcher sat in the dining room with the rest of the members of the family. The audio recorder and laptop were on the table. Everyone spoke loudly enough to make sure that every word was captured. All electronics besides the recorder were turned off to avoid any interruption and unnecessary noise.

The mother is a 40-year-old second generation C who is a licensed practical nurse. The son is a 12-year-old third generation and is a 7th grader. The daughter is a third generation who is in 4th grade and, therefore, could not participate. The grandmother is an 81-year-old first generation A and is retired.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 4H



FAMILY 5: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Plant City, FL 33563

DATE: Sunday, May 25, 2014 at 3:00 p.m.

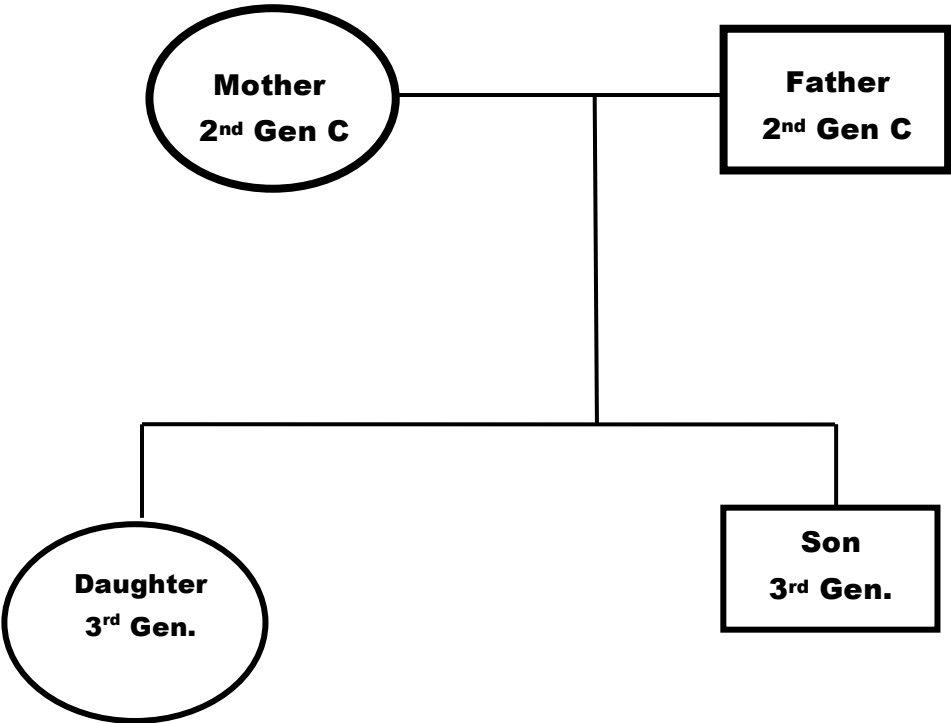
DURATION: 35:36

The interview took place after a service at the Haitian Protestant church that the family attends. It was very quiet, and we were the only ones left at the church, which made everyone feel comfortable and at home. It was a neutral place for everyone, especially the family. They interacted very well with one another, open and laughing and encouraging each other to be honest in answering the questions.

The father is a 45-year-old second generation C who is a physical therapist. The mother is a 47-year-old second generation C and is a nurse. The daughter is a 17-year-old third generation who is in 12th grade in high school. The son is a 13-year-old third generation who is in 8th grade in middle school.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 5H



FAMILY 6: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Tampa, FL 33604

DATE: Sunday, May 25, 2014 at 8:37 p.m.

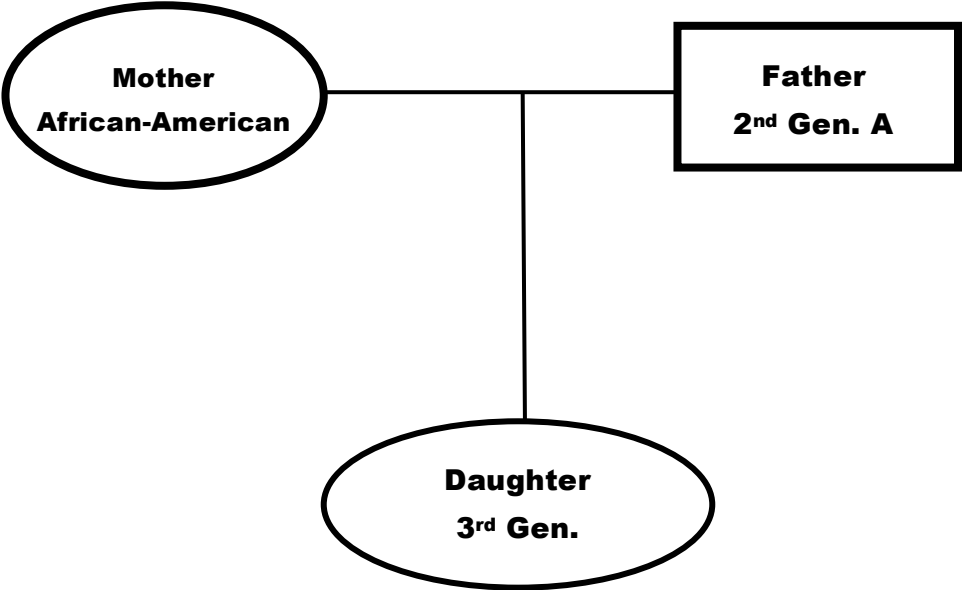
DURATION: 33:18

The researcher met the family at a local Starbucks because they did not feel comfortable with having the interview at their home. It took place outside. It was very noisy because of the moving cars and the surrounding conversations by other people.

The father is a 62-year-old second generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and is a high school teacher. The mother is a 61-year-old African American and works as an administrator. The daughter is a 23-year-old third generation who is a high school teacher as well as a graduate student.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 6H



FAMILY 7: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Tampa, FL 33609

DATE: Thursday, May 29, 2014 at 1:00 P.M.

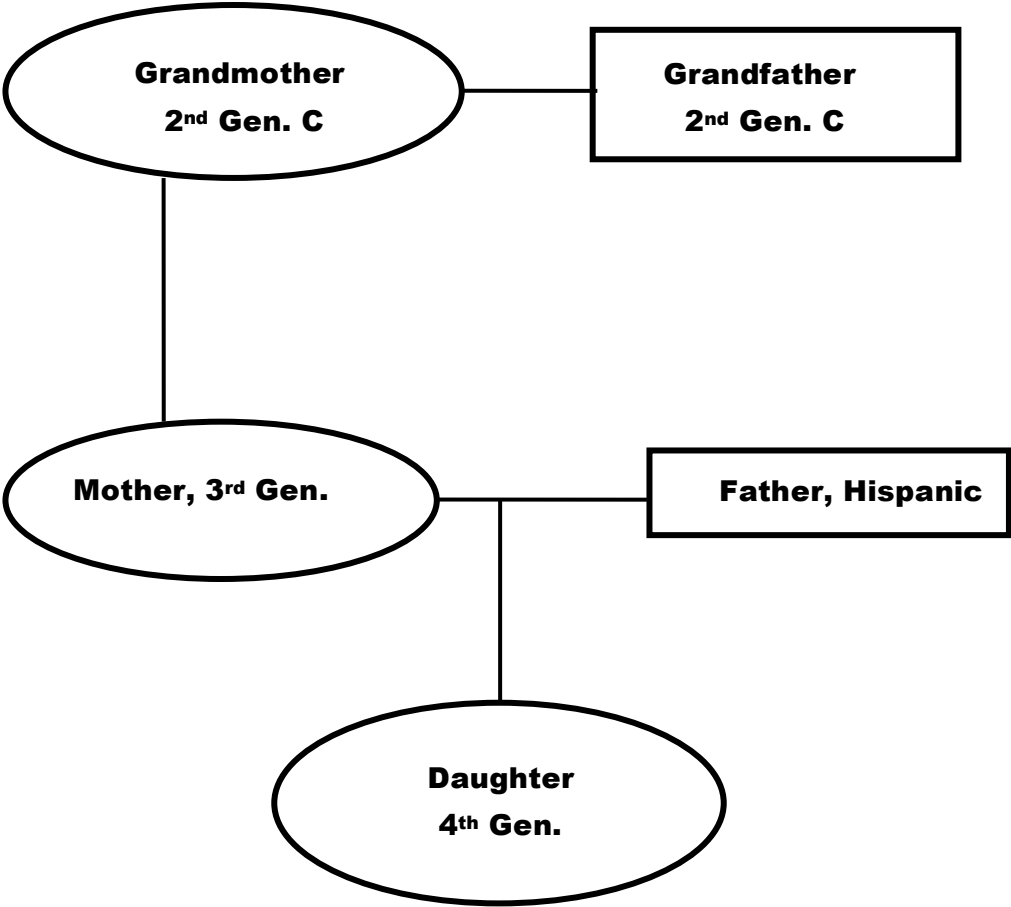
DURATION: 20:36

The researcher met with the family in the grandmother's home, where all the children had been raised. The grandmother offered the researcher refreshments and the researcher accepted a glass of water. The interior of the home was simply decorated with wooden artifacts from Haiti and fall color combinations. The walls were filled with picture frames of families from different generations dating all the way back to the 1930s. The interview took place at the table in the dining room.

The grandmother is a 72-year-old second generation C who is a retired high school teacher. The grandfather is a 73-year-old second generation C and is a retired accountant. The granddaughter is a 19-year-old fourth generation who is a 3rd-year college student.

The interview was conducted in English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 7H



FAMILY 8: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Tampa, FL 33624

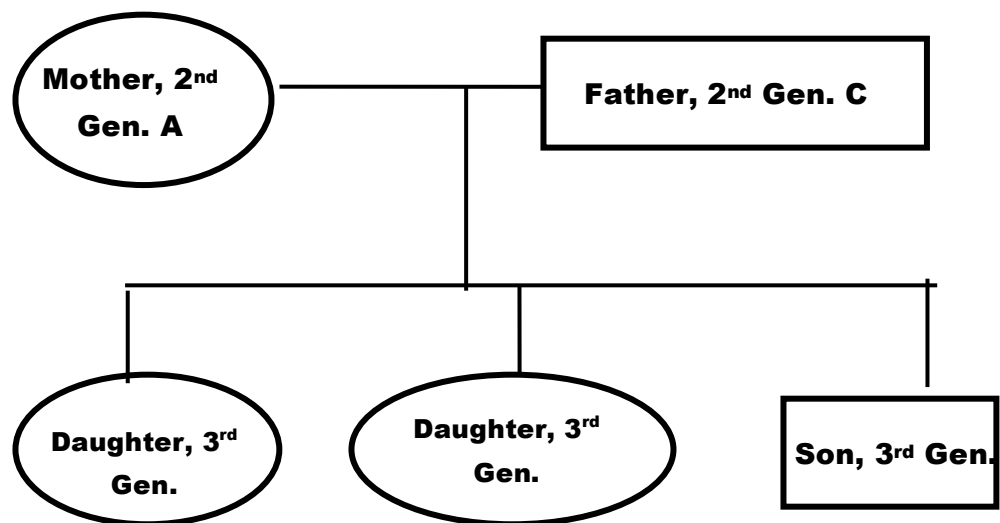
DATE: Thursday, May 23, 2014 at 7:15 p.m.

DURATION: 25:24

The researcher met with the family in their home. Upon arrival, there were many cars in front of the home, so the researcher had to park a block away. There were a lot of people (lawyers, judges, family friends) in the house and the atmosphere was quite free and open. They were having a get-together (pre-campaigning) for a friend who is running for local office. Because it was busy, the researcher was taken to the living room, away from the noise and festivities. While waiting for the family to gather, the researcher was introduced to the daughters' significant others, who are both Caucasian. The researcher waited for a few minutes before the interview could take place, since they had guests who were leaving. The interview began behind closed doors and the researcher was offered to take some food with her as she left.

The mother is a 57-year-old second generation A who is a lawyer. The father is a 60-year-old second generation C who is a college professor. The son is a 30-year-old third generation who is a realtor with a degree in finance. The first daughter is a 24-year-old third generation who works as a high school coach. The second daughter is a 24-year-old third generation who is in her first year of medical school. The daughters are twins.

Hillsborough County: Family 8H



FAMILY 9: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Wesley Chapel, FL 33543

DATE: Sunday, June 1, 2014 at 1:15 p.m.

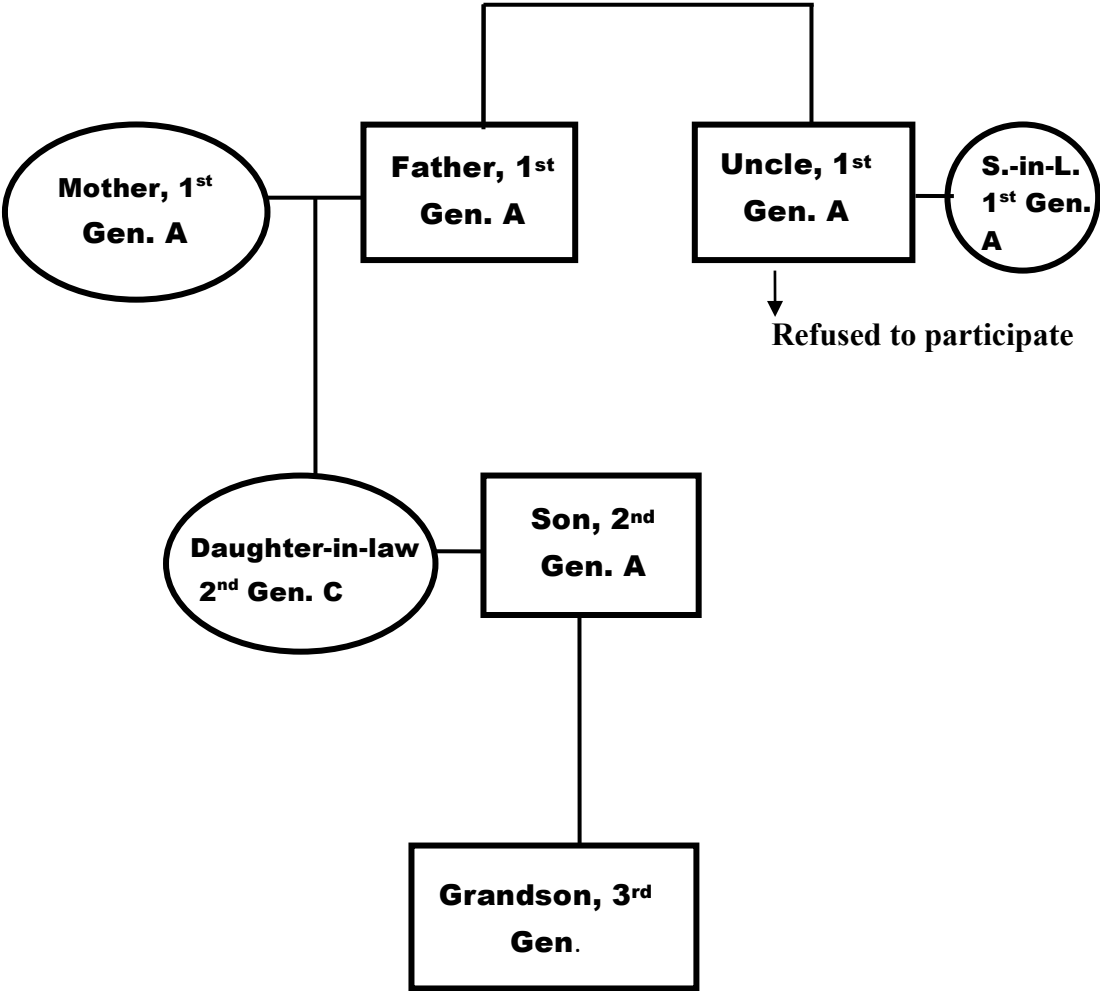
DURATION: 35 minutes

The researcher met with the family right after church service in a conference room at a Catholic church. The room had other occupants. The quality of the audio is questionable. First, Mr. X's oldest brother introduced him to me. When he was asked to sign the consent form, he refused. Therefore, his input in the interview will not be transcribed.

The father is an 82-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and is retired. The mother is a 73-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and is also retired. The brother is a first generation A and was not included in the interview because he refused to sign the consent form. His wife (sister-in-law) is a 67-year-old first generation A and is retired. The daughter-in-law is a 41-year-old second generation C and is a nurse. The son is a 46-year-old second generation A and is a computer engineer. The grandson is a 13-year-old third generation and is in 8th grade in middle school.

The interview was conducted in Creole, French, and English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording. The recording had to be interrupted several times due to noises coming from children laughing and playing. However, notes taken in a notebook were added in the transcription.

Hillsborough County: Family 9H



FAMILY 10: Hillsborough County

LOCATION: Wesley Chapel, FL 33543

DATE: Sunday, June 1, 2014 at 2:31 p.m.

DURATION: 16 minutes

The researcher met with the family in a conference room at a Catholic church. It was very noisy because the room had other occupants. There were many conversations around. Because of the noise, we waited 10-20 minutes to proceed with the interview. The daughter was talking back and forth to her mother about the questions. However, this did not have a great impact on the responses of the mother.

The mother is a 65-year-old first generation A who arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s and is retired. The daughter is a 40-year-old second generation C and is a nurse. The granddaughter is a 12-year-old third generation and is in 6th grade in middle school.

The interview was conducted in Creole and English. A consent form with information relating to the research was provided to each participant prior to the interview. The interview started immediately after the participants signed their consent form and agreed to the audio recording.

Hillsborough County: Family 10H

